

Robert Basley
Highgate

COOKSLAND

IN

NORTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA;

THE FUTURE COTTON-FIELD OF GREAT BRITAIN:

ITS CHARACTERISTICS
AND CAPABILITIES FOR EUROPEAN COLONIZATION.

WITH A DISQUISITION ON THE

ORIGIN, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE ABORIGINES.

By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., A.M.,

SENIOR MINISTER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, AND MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
OF NEW SOUTH WALES; HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE
OF FRANCE, AND HONORARY MEMBER OF THE LITERARY INSTITUTE
OF OLINDA IN THE BRAZILS.

Hæc tunc nomina erant; nunc sunt sine nomine terræ.

VIRG. *ÆNEID*, vi. 777.

Be this, in future days, thy name,
Fair land, as yet unknown to fame!

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COOKSLAND

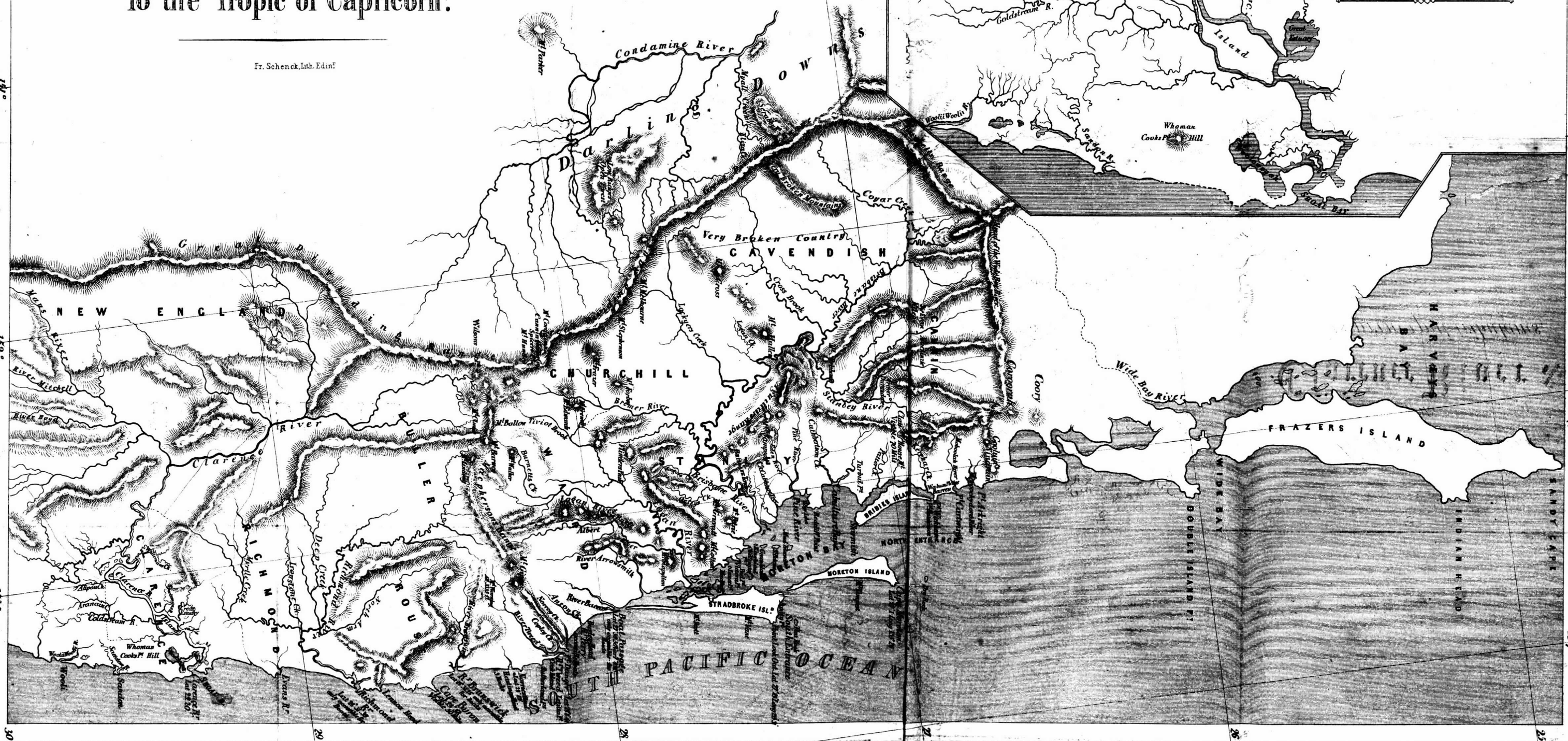
In North-Eastern Australia,

EXTENDING FROM 30° S. LATITUDE,

To the Tropic of Capricorn.

Fr. Schenck, Lith. Edin.

Sketch of the Course
of the
Clarence River &
its principal tributaries.



TO THE
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

WHEN the project of forming a British Colony on some part of the Southern Coast of Australia—chiefly with a view to the carrying out of a new theory of colonization—was in agitation in London in the year 1834, I took the liberty, on meeting with certain of the projectors of that Colony, to recommend that they should by all means give it a distinctive and appropriate designation, and suggested that, in honour of the reigning Sovereign, His late Majesty King William IV., (in whose reign the new theory had been projected,) it should be called WILLIAMSLAND. Unfortunately, however, my suggestion was not received; and the godfathers and godmothers of the first-born of the Wakefield theory, named the child SOUTH AUSTRALIA. It was as absurd a name for a colony in any such locality, as if the British Colony of Demcrara had been called South America, or the island of Ireland, West Europe. It was neither distinctive nor appropriate, as every proper name ought to be; not distinctive, because it applies equally to any part of the extensive coast line from Cape Howe, the south-eastern, to Cape Leeuwin, the south-western extremity of the

Australian land, a distance of not less than two thousand miles; not appropriate, because a large portion of the neighbouring province of Port Phillip to the eastward is considerably farther south than any part of what is now called by authority *South Australia*. How such a name could have received the sanction of any number of mere metropolitan speculators in new Colonies and Colonial stock is easily conceivable; for the more irrational any scheme of the kind appears to be in the eye of common sense, the more favour it seems to meet with in certain quarters in the British Metropolis; but how it could also have passed muster with the Secretary of State, and the two Houses of Parliament, so as to be adopted in an Act of the Imperial Legislature, I cannot imagine. To give such a mere apology for a name to a British Colony, and it may be to another Infant Empire, under so high a sanction too, argues a poverty of conception and a want of discernment discreditable alike to the intellect and the taste of the nation, and must tend to give enlightened foreigners a very mean idea of both.

A single slip of this kind might indeed have been passed over and forgiven; but the name "*South Australia*," absurd as it is, seems to have been already exalted into a sort of national precedent in the estimation of the Colonial office; for one of the last Acts of the Colonial Autocracy of my Lord Stanley, was to take the requisite measures for the establishment of a new Penal Colony on the north-eastern coast of New Holland, of which Sir Charles Fitzroy, the present Governor of New South Wales, has actually been

gazetted as Governor, under the style and title of Governor of *North Australia*! North Australia, forsooth! Why, I have no doubt that in a very few years hence, there will be three or four British Colonies along the northern coast of New Holland, all equally entitled to the same general designation.

Now as the portion of the Great South Land, to a description of the characteristics and capabilities of which the following pages are devoted, is on the east coast of Australia, and must necessarily, at no distant period, become a separate and independent Colony, and will in all likelihood prove one of the most important colonies that Great Britain has ever planted, I am strongly apprehensive that it may share a somewhat similar fate, and be condemned, as another instance of Downing Street and Parliamentary incapacity in the science of nomenclature, to put up with some such apology for a name as *East Australia*, especially as it is in reality the easternmost portion of the Australian Continent! In such circumstances, I appeal to you, my Fellow-countrymen, and entreat you to rescue the nomenclature of our Colonial Empire out of such incompetent hands, by assuming the task of giving names to new Colonies, at least in this particular instance, yourselves; and by demonstrating that it is not the fact, as it has been thus virtually alleged in these high and influential quarters, that Great Britain has too many Colonial children already to be able to find *proper names* for any more. With this view, I would beg most respectfully to suggest that that portion of the Australian territory to which this volume is dedicated,

should be named after its great discoverer, Captain Cook—to whose memory, it will doubtless be universally allowed, there has hitherto been no monument erected by his country at all worthy of his high deserts, of his imperishable fame. With your permission, therefore, I shall not hesitate to perform this tardy act of national justice to our illustrious circumnavigator, by designating what is now the northern division of the great Colony of New South Wales, **COOKSLAND**.

I have the honour to be, Fellow-Countrymen,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN DUNMORE LANG.

P.S.—As the preceding Epistle Appellatory was written in the Great Southern Pacific Ocean, early in the month of July last, when the Colonial Department was under the management of Mr. Ex-Secretary Gladstone, the immediate successor of Lord Stanley, my first impression—on learning on my arrival at Pernambuco in the Brazils, that Earl Grey had succeeded Mr. Gladstone, on the late change of Ministry—was, that I ought to alter it, as it might otherwise give offence to his Lordship; from whom the Colonies generally—in common with myself—expect far greater and more important changes, than would be implied in the mere adoption of a more rational system of nomenclature. On second thoughts, however, I resolved to let it remain as it is, as the censure it may be supposed to imply was evidently meant for others, and cannot affect His Lordship, while it may supply a useful hint for the future, even yet.—J. D. L.

EDINBURGH, *April* 1847.

INTRODUCTION.

“The men are shepherds ; for their trade hath been to feed cattle.”—Genesis xlv. 32.

THE vast territory of New South Wales has evidently been designed by the Great Architect of the universe to form three separate and independent Colonies or States ; and it has accordingly been of late years regarded as comprising the three following Districts :—1st, New South Wales Proper, or the Middle District ; 2d, Port Phillip, or the Southern District ; and 3d, Moreton Bay, or the Northern District—which we have taken the liberty, with the kind permission of the People of Great Britain and Ireland, to designate **COOKSLAND.**

The Southern or Port Phillip District is bounded on the west by the hundred-and-forty-first meridian of east longitude, which, by Act of Parliament, forms the boundary line between the Colonies of New South Wales and South Australia, from the Great Southern Ocean to the Tropic of Capricorn. From that meridian it extends eastward to Cape Howe—the

south-eastern extremity of the Australian land—presenting a coast-line of upwards of 500 miles to Bass' Straits and the Southern Ocean, without taking into account the sinuosities of the land. Its northern and north-eastern boundaries are not yet definitively fixed, but in all probability they will be a line drawn from Cape Howe to Mount Kosciuszko, in the Snowy Mountains or Great Warragong Chain, commonly called the Australian Alps ; from thence to the nearest sources of the Tumut River and along that river to where it falls into the Murrumbidgee ; from the junction of the Tumut along the Murrumbidgee to where the junction of the latter river with the Hume forms the Murray ; and from the head of the Murray River along that stream to the 141st degree of east longitude, if not to the Lake Alexandrina and the Ocean at Encounter Bay. With this boundary, the Territory of Port Phillip would have a superficial extent of 130,000 square miles, and would thus be considerably larger than Great Britain and Ireland together. Its present population, to the southward of the Hume River, exceeds 32,000 souls.

The Middle District, or New South Wales Proper, extends from Cape Howe to the Solitary Isles, in the 30th parallel of south latitude, and presents a coast-line to the Southern Pacific of about 500 miles. Its northern and western boundaries are the 30th parallel of south latitude and the 141st degree of east longitude, respectively, and its superficial extent must be somewhere about 250,000 square miles. The population of this District is at present upwards of 150,000 souls.

The boundary of New South Wales to the northward has doubtless been fixed for the present by Act of Parliament 5 and 6 Victoria, cap. 76, at the 26th parallel of south latitude; but this can only be regarded as a temporary arrangement, to continue in force till the progressive settlement of the country shall have developed its capabilities and shown where the permanent boundary should be definitively fixed; for it is alike the interest of the mother-country and the colonies that in these distant settlements of the empire society should be bound up in such volumes as to form, each for itself, a complete, compact, and united whole. The 30th parallel of south latitude has been fixed by the Local Government as the boundary to the southward of the recently-erected Custom-House District of Moreton Bay—an admission, on the part of the Colonial Executive, that such a boundary is convenient for commercial purposes; and it will appear abundantly in the sequel, that as soon as the Moreton Bay country shall be occupied and settled by a comparatively numerous free emigrant population, that parallel of latitude will require to be fixed as the common boundary, not only of two conterminous Custom-House Districts, but of two separate and independent Colonies. Indeed, the same indication of a remarkable change of climate which is observable in travelling northward from Port Phillip, at the Murrumbidgee River, is equally observable at the 30th parallel of south latitude in travelling still farther north towards Moreton Bay; for as the beautiful Swamp Oak, which is found everywhere in the

Middle District or New South Wales Proper,* is first seen on the banks of the Murrumbidgee, so the beautiful *Araucaria Cunninghami*, or Moreton Bay Pine, which abounds throughout the Northern District, is first seen (as has been observed by Clement Hodgkinson, Esq., the Government Surveyor of the M'Leay District) on the banks of the Cowhallie Creek—a small stream that falls into the Pacific about the 30th parallel of south latitude, between the Bellinger and Clarence Rivers.

The Northern or Moreton Bay District, which we shall henceforth designate Cooksland, extends from the 30th parallel of south latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn, or to whatever point within the Southern Tropic may be found eventually the most suitable for the common boundary of two conterminous Colonies. It will therefore present a coast-line of 500 miles, or thereby, to the Southern Pacific, while its superficial extent will be nearly equal to that of New South Wales Proper, or the Middle District. Its present population, however, does not exceed 5000 souls.

Of these three Districts the great majority of the population are engaged, either directly or indirectly, in the rearing of sheep and cattle; and the staple production of all the three is fine wool. They have each a

* The Swamp Oak, a variety of the *Casuarinae* family, presents, in its general contour, an aspect somewhat intermediate between that of the Scotch and the Spruce Fir, being more graceful than the former, but less formal and Dutch-like than the latter.

the Nanbuckra, and the Bellinger—will yield in fertility to none on the face of the globe.

I am now, however, to develop the characteristics and capabilities of the Northern or Moreton Bay District—the least known of the three, but perhaps the best adapted for all the purposes of man.

grand central point, distinctly marked by nature, for commerce and government, for civilization and refinement, for morals and religion—the splendid inlet of Port Phillip for the Southern District, the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson for the Middle District, and Moreton Bay, a sort of Mediterranean Sea, into whose comparatively still waters several navigable rivers disembogue, for the Northern—and when their vast territories come to be better settled than they are at present, and their vast resources developed by an industrious and virtuous free emigrant population of British origin, they will unquestionably be universally recognised as three of the noblest Colonies that Great Britain has ever planted in any part of the world.

The climate of Port Phillip is perhaps the most congenial on the whole to an English constitution, and a large portion of the territory of that District, particularly the country designated by its discoverer, Sir Thomas Mitchell, *Australia Felix*, and the tract called Gippsland, towards the south-eastern angle of the continent, are quite as capable of sustaining a dense population as any part of Great Britain. But the high lands of New South Wales Proper—the Maneroo country, the Argyle country, the Bathurst country, and the New England country—are all equally congenial to a European constitution with any part of the territory of Port Phillip; while the alluvial lands on the banks of its rivers—the Clyde, the Shoalhaven, the Hawkesbury, the Hunter, the Manning, the Hastings, the M'Leay,

COOKSLAND.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.—MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, BAYS,
ISLANDS, &c.

*Est in secessu longo locus : insula portum
Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.*
VIRG. *ÆNEID*, I. 161.

Within a long recess there lies a bay,
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port secure for ships to ride ;
Broke by the jutting land on either side,
In double streams the briny waters glide.
DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

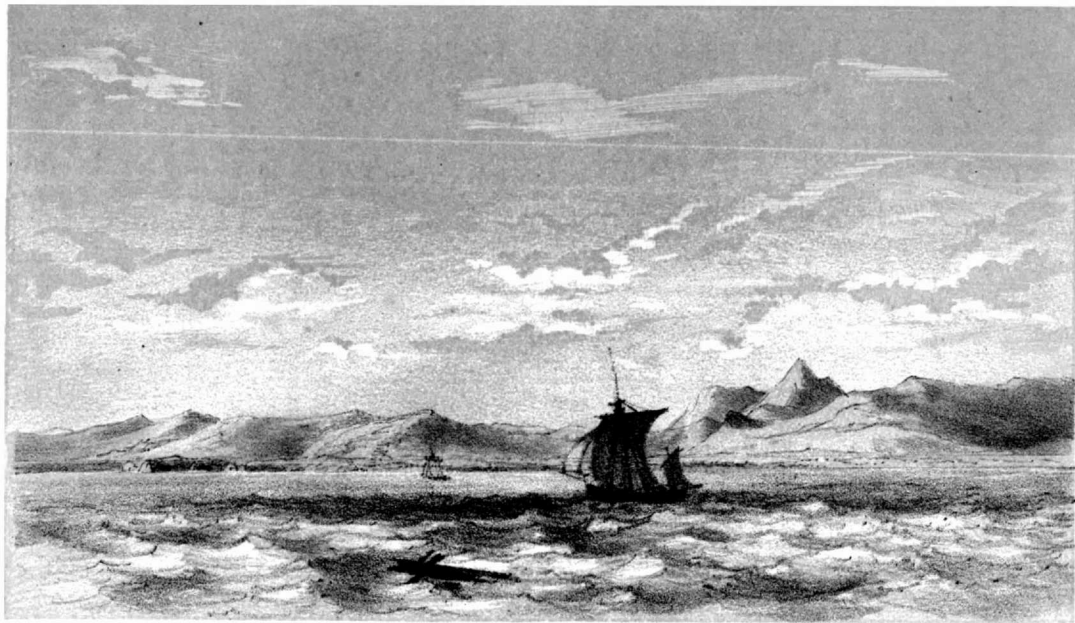
There is a place, Australian Squatters say,
Within the long expanse of Moreton Bay,
Where Bribie's Island forms a shelter'd port,
To which a future navy will resort.
VIRGIL AUSTRALIANIZED.

THE coast of New South Wales Proper, for several degrees of latitude to the northward of Sydney, is, for the most part, comparatively tame and uninteresting ; there being no striking features in the scenery of the distant interior, visible from the deck of a vessel bound to the northward, to relieve the general barrenness of the coast. But on approaching the thirtieth parallel of south latitude, the character of the scenery undergoes a remarkable change. Lofty, detached, dome-shaped, and high-peaked mountains shoot up their bold and

interesting forms in rapid succession into the azure sky, while the high table-land of New England, presenting summits occasionally covered with snow, afford the voyager some idea of the physical character of the interior. The accompanying sketch, from the Voyages of Captain Flinders, of a portion of the coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Byron, the easternmost point of New Holland, will enable the reader to form a pretty accurate idea of the general configuration of this portion of the Australian coast.

Some of the mountain-summits of New England, a tract of table-land situated chiefly to the southward of Cooksland, but supplying many tributary streams for the drainage of that portion of the territory, are stated, by Mr. Ralfe, a resident Government Surveyor, to be not less than 6000 feet above the level of the sea. Mount Sea View, in that part of the territory, was ascertained by Mr. Oxley, formerly Surveyor-General of New South Wales, to be 6000 feet high, and Mount Lindsay, at the southern extremity of Moreton Bay, was ascertained by Mr. Allan Cunningham to be 5700 feet in perpendicular height. The Coast Range, or Australian Andes, which form, as it were, the backbone of the eastern portion of the Australian continent, and divide the waters falling into the Pacific from those flowing towards the western interior, are generally from 3000 to 4000 feet in height. But there are numerous detached mountains of various heights, of the form and character of those I have already described, between the coast-range and the ocean; while towards Wide Bay, in latitude 26° south, the country assumes a volcanic character, and a whole series of cones of that formation, designated by Captain Cook the Glasshouses, form a prominent and useful landmark to the mariner.

Any intelligent person has only to direct his eye along the remarkable outline of this mountainous region, to be strongly impressed with the idea that these mountains are separated from each other by fertile plains and valleys, and that they nourish many peren-



SKETCH OF THE COAST NEAR CAPE BYRON, TO FRONT.

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nial streams. Nor is this anticipation unfounded ; for there is no part of the territory of New South Wales so well supplied with streams of water and navigable rivers as Cooksland. A bare enumeration of these rivers, of some of which a more particular account will be given hereafter, will satisfy the reader that this is no exaggeration. The *first*, therefore, of the rivers we meet with in Cooksland, in travelling northward, and the largest yet discovered on the east coast of Australia, is the Clarence River, which empties itself into the Pacific at Shoal Bay, in latitude $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. This river is navigable for steamboats of 100 tons, for upwards of eighty miles from its mouth, and has various tributaries navigable also for many miles. The *second* of these rivers is the Richmond, of which the embouchure is in latitude $28^{\circ} 55'$ S. only forty-five miles to the northward of the Clarence. This river is navigable also for fifty miles from its mouth, while its capabilities in other respects are of the highest order. The *third* of these rivers is the Tweed, which falls into the Pacific at Point Danger, in latitude $28^{\circ} 8'$ S. forty-seven miles to the northward of the Richmond, and is navigable also for some distance from its mouth, but how far I have not been able to ascertain, as it has hitherto been resorted to only by coasting vessels from Sydney engaged in the Colonial Cedar trade. In latitude $27^{\circ} 55'$ S., in Moreton Bay, we find the *fourth* of these rivers, called the Kumera-Kumera or Arrowsmith, which is navigable for small vessels fourteen miles from its entrance ; the *fifth*, also within the Bay, and a much larger river, being the Logan, in latitude $27^{\circ} 45'$ S., of which the principal tributaries form the drainage of Mount Lindsay, and the country towards the coast-range. To what distance from its mouth this river may be navigable for steamboats, I have not ascertained, as it is still very much out of the usual track of persons visiting Moreton Bay. The *sixth* river is the Brisbane, in latitude $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. ; it is navigable for steamboats, and actually navigated by these vessels for seventy-five miles from its mouth, to the head of the navigation of

the Bremer River, one of its tributaries, which lies more directly in the course of persons travelling to the interior than the principal stream: the latter is navigable for a considerable distance, at least fifty miles higher up. The *seventh* is the Pine River, in latitude $27^{\circ} 10'$ S., and is similar to the Arrowsmith. The *eighth* is the Cabulture or Deception River, towards the northern extremity of the Bay, but whether it is navigable or not, I have not ascertained. The *ninth* is the Marootchy-Doro or Black Swan River, in latitude $26^{\circ} 45'$ S.—evidently, from the width of its estuary, a considerable stream, and available for steam navigation, but as yet unexplored. The *tenth* is the Wide Bay River, in latitude $25^{\circ} 55'$ S. It is navigable for fifty miles from its mouth. The *eleventh* is the Dunkelba River, unvisited as yet by any white man, with the exception of a Scotch convict from Moreton Bay, who had lived for many years among the black natives of that part of the colony. According to that individual, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, it is a considerable stream, available for steam navigation, and remarkable for the quantity of cedar on its banks. The *twelfth* is the Boyne River, which falls into the sea at Port Curtis, or Keppel Bay, in latitude $23^{\circ} 59\frac{3}{4}'$ S. This river was ascertained to be navigable in the lower part of its course, by the late John Oxley, Esq., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, so long ago as the year 1823; but so little interest has been taken since that period by our Colonial authorities in the progress of Geographical discovery along the coasts of Australia, that it remains as yet unexplored. It rises far inland to the southward, and must pursue a course of at least 300 miles.*

It must therefore be evident, beyond all controversy,

* There are two other Rivers outside the Bay, near the South Passage, called the Barrow and the Perry, of the same character as the Kumera-Kumera, being both practicable for boats, and abounding with cedar, which is always an indication of good land.

that the territory of Cooksland, supposing it to extend from the 30th degree of South latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn, is supplied, to an extraordinary extent, not only with streams of water, but with rivers available for the purposes of navigation. One has only to cast his eye over the map of the country, appended to this volume, and drawn by Robert Dixon, Esq., for several years the resident Government-Surveyor of the Moreton Bay District, to be satisfied that the whole extent of country, in so far as explored to the northward, between the Coast-Range of mountains and the ocean, is covered with a complete net-work of streams of water; many of which, rising as they do at an elevation of several thousand feet on the forest-clad heights of Mount Warning, Mount Lindsay, and the other lofty eminences of the District, emerge from the dark mountain-glens of their birth, clear as crystal, and delightfully cool even in the hottest season of a semi-tropical year. In fact, notwithstanding the generally received calumny to which the great "South Land" has hitherto been subjected in Europe, as being destitute of "springs of water," and to a vast extent hopelessly barren and unavailable for the purposes of man, I can fearlessly challenge any European geographer to point to any tract of country of equal extent with that of Cooksland, and within the same parallels of latitude in either hemisphere, on the coast of which there is a greater number either of streams of water, or of rivers available for inland navigation.

But the principal Geographical feature of this portion of the Australian territory is the Bay, from which the northern district of the colony of New South Wales has hitherto derived its name. Moreton Bay was discovered by Captain Cook in the month of May 1770, but could only be examined in a very cursory manner by that celebrated navigator. In the year 1799, however, Captain Hunter, the second Governor of New South Wales, being a Captain in the Navy, and an enthusiast in the prosecution of maritime discovery, despatched Lieutenant, afterwards Captain Flinders, an-

other distinguished navigator, second only to Captain Cook, in a small Colonial vessel, to examine this Bay more minutely, as also another opening considerably to the northward, which Captain Cook had also indicated on the chart, and named Harvey's Bay, leaving it uncertain whether either afforded any navigable inlet into the interior. The result of this voyage must have greatly disappointed the sanguine, but not unreasonable hopes of that enterprising mariner and worthy man, Governor Hunter; but it affords one of the most instructive lessons for the guidance of future Governments, whether Imperial or Colonial, in the department of geographical discovery, that perhaps the whole annals of British maritime enterprise afford. In running to the northward, Captain Flinders discovered, and lay at anchor for nearly twenty-four hours in Shoal Bay, into which the Clarence River, the largest yet discovered on the east coast of Australia, disembogues, and which he examined in a cursory manner, but without discovering that important river, although he was quite close to its entrance. In times of flood, the rivers of Australia bring down vast quantities of earthy matter which they deposit along the bottom of any bay or other expanse of salt water at their mouth; and these bays or lakes, if at all sheltered from the full sweep of the ocean-waves, are gradually filled up, and become at length solid land, leaving a deep-water channel for the flow of the river. Had Captain Flinders happened to hit upon the channel in this particular instance, he would doubtless have followed it up through all its windings, till he had found the mouth of the river; but he merely found a shoal bay, with a fringe of gloomy mangrove trees along its shores, and reported accordingly, that "all was barren!" In like manner, in pursuance of Governor Hunter's instructions, Captain Flinders entered Moreton Bay by what is called the Northern Passage, and passing several of the low islands with which it is studded, got right abreast of the entrance of the Brisbane River; which, however, being concealed from his view from the vessel's deck

by two low flat islands at its mouth, which he named the Fishermen's Islands, he deemed the Bay unworthy of any further examination, and reported to the Governor on his return, that it afforded no inlet into the land. Nay, so confident on this point was Captain Flinders, that he summed up his Report to Governor Hunter in the following words:—"I must acknowledge myself to have been disappointed in not being able to penetrate into the interior of New South Wales by either of the openings examined in this expedition; but however mortifying the conviction might be, it was then *an ascertained fact*, that no river of importance intersects the east coast between the 24th and 39th degrees of South latitude."* This too confident assertion of so high an authority in all matters relating to maritime discovery was but indifferent encouragement for exploratory expeditions from the Colony along the coast to the northward; and accordingly the Brisbane and the Boyne Rivers—the latter of which empties itself within a mile of the northern limit of the line of coast indicated by Captain Flinders—were only discovered accidentally by the late Mr. Oxley, when searching for something else still farther north, in the year 1823; while the Clarence River was not discovered till the year 1838, when some sawyers happened to light upon it unexpectedly, when searching for cedar for the Sydney market, along the rivers to the northward.

In explanation, however, of what might otherwise be regarded as a strange instance (or rather three such instances) of inadvertency on the part of Captain Flinders, it must be observed, that it is quite impossible to discover the outlets of many of the Australian rivers, or even the entrances of some of the best harbours of the country, from the deck of a vessel off the coast. A minute examination must be made—of course in a whale-boat—of every nook and corner along the coast,

* FLINDERS' *Voyages to the Terra Australis*.—Introduction p. 202.

before the navigator can venture upon so sweeping an assertion as that of Captain Flinders in the instance in question.

Moreton Bay is not formed, as its name might suggest, by a mere sinuosity or indentation of the land, but by three islands running nearly parallel to the coast, and so disposed as to form, with the main, a large salt-water lake or inland sea. Of the three islands, the southernmost or Stradbroke Island is thirty miles in length, and about five in breadth. It lies due north and south, and its southern extremity consists of a mere sand spit which runs out for about twelve miles parallel to the mainland, and affords an entrance for boats, called the South Passage, which is occasionally practicable also for steam navigation. To the northward of Stradbroke Island, and separated from it by a navigable channel of nearly a mile in width, is Moreton Island, running due north for about twenty miles with an average breadth of three miles. The third island is Bribie's Island, the *Yarun* of the natives, and is about seventeen miles in length, and two or three in breadth; and as the south end of Bribie's Island—which lies close in-shore, leaving a narrow channel between it and the land, called the Pumice-Stone River, or Bribie's Island Passage—lies between the north end of Moreton Island and the main, there is a wide entrance into the Bay, called the North Entrance, between the two islands, being about eight miles across, with four miles of a deep water channel, in which the soundings are from five to six fathoms. Hitherto the Southern Entrance, between Stradbroke and Moreton Islands, has been the one usually taken by steamboats and coasting vessels; but as the sea breaks fearfully on the bar, which has only a depth of water of three and a-half fathoms, in bad weather, the North Entrance, which is practicable for vessels of the greatest draught of water at all times, must evidently be the principal entrance for the future. So little attention, however, has hitherto been paid to the interests of commerce and navigation in this most important district by the four

Soldier-Officers who have successively been governors of the colony of New South Wales for the last twenty-two years, since the discovery of the Brisbane River, and the formation of the Penal Settlement of Moreton Bay, that this principal entrance into that noble inlet had never been surveyed up to the period of my return to Sydney, from a tour to the northward, in the month of December 1845. I had returned on that occasion by the Shamrock, a very superior iron steamboat, of 200 tons, (belonging to the Hunter's River Navigation Company) which occasionally visits Moreton Bay in the wool season. On getting out into the Bay from the Brisbane River, the wind was quite fair for our voyage, and we could have got into the Pacific to avail ourselves of it in a few hours by the North Entrance, had the deep-water channel by that entrance been only surveyed and buoyed off. But as this indispensable operation had not been performed, although the Local Government had had a Convict Establishment of occasionally upwards of a thousand men at the Settlement, with all the necessary apparatus for maintaining maritime communication with the district for twenty years, we had to lie for two whole days inside the southern or inferior entrance, till the surf, which was then breaking fearfully on the bar from the effects of a recent gale, had sufficiently subsided to enable us to get out into the open sea.*

Moreton Bay is sixty miles long and about twenty wide. It is studded with islands, especially towards its southern extremity, where it gradually narrows to a mere river in appearance. A few of these islands are high land, and capable of great improvement, as Peel's

* The Bramble and Castlercagh, two tenders of H. M. Surveying Ship, Fly, Captain Blackwood, which has recently been surveying the navigable channel towards Torres Straits, were despatched from Sydney, on the 21st December 1845, to complete that important Survey; and at the instance of Captain Wickham, R.N., Police Magistrate at Moreton Bay, they were to touch there on their way, and spend *a few days only* in surveying the North Entrance into the Bay.

Island and St. Helena Island ; the latter of which received its name in the penal times of the settlement, from the circumstance of a black-fellow, who had been named Napoleon by the convicts, having been placed upon it by way of punishment for some crime or misdemeanour : the others are low, muddy, covered with mangroves, and merely in process of formation from the gradual deposits of the Brisbane, the Logan, and the other rivers that empty themselves into the Bay. The three islands that form the Bay to seaward, are all hopelessly sterile—at least in regard to productions at all useful for man ; for they are all covered with indigenous vegetation, suited, doubtless, to the soil, or rather sand and climate. The roots of the cyprus pine from Moreton Island are in high estimation at Brisbane Town for ornamental furniture and fancy cabinet-work—for which, from their rich and beautiful appearance, they are well adapted, and would doubtless bring a high price in London or Paris.

To the northward of Moreton Bay, there is a long island called Frazer's Island, parallel to the coast-line, about sixty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of ten miles ; the northern half of which, being abreast of a bight in the mainland, gave the latter the appearance of a deep bay, and induced Captain Cook to designate it accordingly, Hervey's Bay, anticipating, doubtless, that a river would be discovered at its head. In this anticipation, we have seen, Governor Hunter concurred ; but when it was ascertained that the land forming the east side of the bay was merely an island, the idea of finding a river on that part of the coast was at once abandoned. The southern half of Frazer's Island forms a long narrow sound that will doubtless prove available for coasting navigation, and Wide Bay, into which the river of that name empties itself, is situated at its southern extremity in latitude $25^{\circ} 55' S$. Frazer's Island received its name from Captain Frazer, of the ship *Stirling Castle*, a Scotch vessel, which has obtained some celebrity in New South Wales, from having brought out to the colony, at my particular in-

stance, a number of Scotch mechanics, the first free immigrants of this class, to erect the requisite buildings for an Academical Institution in Sydney, in the year 1831. On a subsequent voyage to the Colony, Captain Frazer was unfortunately wrecked on the Barrier Reef, on his way to India. He reached the coast, however, in his boat; but it was only to experience a more awful fate, for he was seized by the black natives on his landing, and inhumanly murdered with most of his crew. Frazer's Island is rather of indifferent character, in point of soil and general capabilities in the estimation of Europeans; but it is an excellent fishing station, and abounds in the other requisites of Aboriginal life. It is consequently very populous—the number of Aborigines on the island being estimated at not fewer than 2000.

The next inlet to the northward of Frazer's Island, that requires to be noticed, is Port Curtis, situated in latitude 24° S. or thereby. It was discovered, and partially surveyed by Captain Flinders in the course of his voyages of discovery along the coasts of Australia, early in the present century, and the following is the account given of it by that eminent navigator:—"This part of the east coast had been passed in the night by Captain Cook, so that both the openings escaped his notice, and the discovery of the Port fell to our lot. In honour of Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, who had commanded at the Cape of Good Hope, and been so attentive to our wants, I gave to it the name of PORT CURTIS, and the island which protects it from the sea, in fact forms the Port, was called *Facing Island*. It is a slip of rather low land, eight miles in length, and from two to half a mile in breadth, having Gatcombe Head for its southern extremity."

"The Northern Entrance to Port Curtis is accessible only to boats; but ships of any size may enter the Port by the southern opening."

"The country round Port Curtis is overspread with grass, and produces the *eucalyptus*, and other trees common to this coast; yet the soil is either sandy or

covered with loose stones, and generally incapable of cultivation. Much of the shores and the low islands are overspread with mangroves."

"Granite, streaked red and black, and cracked in all directions, appeared to be the common stone in the upper parts of the Port; but a stratified argillaceous stone was not unfrequent."

"Traces of inhabitants were found upon all the shores where we landed; they subsist partly on turtle, and possess bark canoes and scoop-nets. Fish seemed to be plentiful; the shores abound with oysters, amongst which, in the upper parts of the Port, was the kind producing pearls."*

This locality was afterwards visited by Mr. Oxley, in search of a suitable place for the establishment of a new Penal Settlement in the year 1823; and on that occasion Mr. O. discovered an important river, of which discovery the following account is taken from the Observations of Mr. Uniacke, a gentleman of great promise, who had accompanied Mr. Oxley on his expedition to the northward, but who died shortly after his return in Sydney. During the examination of Port Curtis, Mr. Uniacke observes: "On our arrival on board, the master reported that he had discovered a fine fresh water river emptying itself by an outlet which was visible astern of the vessel to the southward. From his account Mr. Oxley was induced to defer our departure to Port Bowen for another day, in order to have an opportunity of viewing it himself. Accordingly Mr. Stirling and he started early the next day, while I remained behind to collect specimens of minerals on Facing Island for the Governor. Late in the evening they returned, having proceeded up the river to about where the tide reached, and Mr. Oxley deemed it of sufficient consequence to remain three or four days more, in order to examine the country more minutely. Accordingly the next morning early we again left the

* A Voyage to Terra Australis, &c., by Matthew Flinders, Captain R.N., II. 19, 20.

vessel, taking three days' provisions, and proceeded with our boat about twelve miles up the river, where we pitched our tent on a bank about forty feet above the level of the water. The soil here was of the richest description, and calculated to grow cotton, sugar, indigo, and all other Indian productions. There were, however, marks of the flood having reached at least fifteen feet higher than the level of our encampment, owing to which the whole surface was covered about two inches deep with drift sand. Indeed, the floods here in the rainy seasons must be tremendous, as we observed in many of the trees, at least sixty feet above the level of the water, the wrack which had been deposited by successive inundations. On the banks we saw three or four different kinds of timber, but the small quantity rendered them unimportant. The river was covered with multitudes of teals, widgeons and wild ducks, and on the banks I shot two swamp pheasants (a pretty black bird not unlike the English pheasant in shape), a very beautiful species of small ~~deer~~ not known in Sydney, and a kind of owl that none of us had seen before. Shortly after dinner we proposed to go to rest, with an intention of proceeding farther up the river at a very early hour the next morning."

"We turned out the moment it was light, despatched our breakfast, and, getting into the boat, proceeded about six miles further up the river. The country through which we passed this day was similar to what we had seen the day before. The timber, however, was becoming larger and more plentiful. In many places the right bank of the river was composed of a remarkably fine slate, while the left was a hard close-grained grey granite, and the soil everywhere rich and fertile. Before we returned we ascended a high hill, on the left from which we had a beautiful and extensive view of the river for many miles, through a rich brush country, the banks in many parts well clothed with timber."

"To the river which we discovered here Mr. Oxley gave the name of the Boyne. It empties itself into

Rodd's Bay, Port Curtis, and its mouth is in lat. $23^{\circ} 59\frac{3}{4}'$ S., long. $151^{\circ} 34' 45''$ E." *

"Keppel Bay (situated in lat. $23^{\circ} 30'$ S. and $150^{\circ} 55'$ E.) was discovered and named," observes Captain Flinders, "by Captain Cook, who sailed past it in 1770."

"The country round Keppel Bay mostly consists either of stony hills or of very low land covered with salt swamps and mangroves."

"Mention has been made of the ridge of hills by which the low land on the south side of the bay is bounded. The upper parts of it are steep and rocky, and may be a thousand or perhaps fifteen hundred feet high, but the lower sloping sides are covered with wood. Mount Larcom and the hills within the ridge are clothed with trees nearly to the top; yet the aspect of the whole is sterile. The high land near the western arm, though stony and shallow in soil, is covered with grass and trees of moderate growth; but the best part of the country was that near Cape Keppel; hill and dale are there well proportioned, the grass is of a better kind and more abundant, the trees are thinly scattered, and there is very little underwood. The lowest parts are not mangrove swamps, as elsewhere, but pleasant-looking vallies, at the bottom of which are ponds of fresh water frequented by flocks of ducks. Cattle would find here a tolerable abundance of nutritive food, though the soil may perhaps be nowhere sufficiently deep and good to afford a productive return to the husbandman." †

I have purposely deferred saying anything for the present on the country to the westward of the chain of mountains commonly called the Coast Range. The rivers that empty themselves into the Pacific along the whole coast of Cooksland are merely the drainage of the country lying to the eastward of that range; and when it is taken into consideration that on this part of

* Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, by various hands. London, 1825.

† Flinders, II. 28, 29.

the Australian continent that range is not more than sixty miles from the coast, it will doubtless be matter of surprise to those who have hitherto been led to regard Australia as a land of drought and barrenness, that the system of drainage in that part of the territory is really so complete and extensive.

It will probably suggest itself also to the intelligent reader, that the great emporium for commerce, the centre point of navigation and the seat of government for the future colony of Cooksland, must necessarily be somewhere within Moreton Bay. The facilities for inland steam navigation presented by that noble bay, and the various navigable rivers that empty themselves into its extensive basin, will prove a help and stimulus to colonization of incalculable value to the future colony, and such, perhaps, as no other British colony affords. But the rivers of Moreton Bay are all barred rivers; and so also are the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed to the southward, as well as some, at least, of those that are known to the northward. Such rivers, however, although admirably adapted for steam navigation, are all impracticable for sea-going vessels or ships of burden; for which, therefore, there must be a suitable port found somewhere else, sheltered from the winds and waves, and easily accessible from the ocean. Now, it is passing strange that so very obvious an idea as that of providing for this first of the wants of a civilized community settling in a remote country should never have occurred to any one of the four soldier-officers who have been governing New South Wales since the settlement of Moreton Bay, twenty-two years ago.* It would be absolutely incredible, were it not the fact, that it seems never to have struck the scarlet-coloured and pipe-clayed understandings of any one of these worthies that such a thing as a safe, central, and commodious harbour was at all necessary for a British

* *Major-General*, Sir Thomas Brisbane; *Lieutenant-General*, Sir Ralph Darling; *Major-General*, Sir Richard Bourke, and *Lieutenant-Colonel*, Sir George Gipps.

Colony ; and therefore, although possessing, for many years in succession during the long period I have mentioned, the absolute disposal of an amount of convict labour that might have effected anything necessary for such a purpose, in the way of embanking, excavating, deepening, building, &c.—the very species of labour which is best suited for convicts employed at Public Works under the superintendence of the Government—it has never been determined, even to the present hour, where the principal harbour for this extensive territory is to be situated—where the future emporium of its commerce is to be established ! The very survey of the bay was only *commenced* in January 1846 !

There are two localities in Moreton Bay where such a harbour as the future colony of Cooksland will require could be formed with comparative facility, as far as engineering difficulties are concerned ; but in either case the probability is that a large expenditure of labour would require to be incurred. Now, had that labour been expended beforehand, as it ought unquestionably to have been when Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, and when there was actually no small difficulty found occasionally in carving out employment for the convicts, its entire cost would have been repaid eventually to the Government through the sale of building allotments, sites for warehouses, stores, wharfs, &c., which would have thus become exceedingly valuable, in the commercial capital of the new colony. But from the want of any such prospective arrangement as common sense would have dictated to a man of ordinary foresight or discernment (not being a soldier-officer), the labour of a thousand convicts for many years in succession, while Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, was absolutely thrown away, as far as any benefit to the present free colonists of the district is concerned.* But what else

* As a specimen of the manner in which the Convict labour of Moreton Bay was actually turned to account during the existence of the Penal Settlement in that locality, the following may serve for the present :—

1. The overseers had a small allowance for every acre of land

can be expected from the system of employing men, whose very business and profession it is to destroy the noblest work of God upon earth, his creature man, in whatever unjust and unnecessary quarrel their masters may choose to strike up for their benefit, in laying the foundations of society in a new country, and in fostering and encouraging the arts of peace !

I should have spared the reader these remarks, which he may probably think somewhat harsh and uncalled-for, had they been intended merely to refer to the past, which, of course, cannot now be recalled ; but my object is that they should serve as hints for the future guidance of those concerned, in a matter that most deeply concerns not only the Australian Colonies but the whole British Empire. In my evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, in the year 1837, I recommended that transportation to New South Wales should be discontinued

cleared by the convicts under their superintendence. To render this source of revenue more productive, it was only necessary to select thinly timbered land, without reference to its quality ; and accordingly Moreton Island, a mere collection of sandhills, of no use whatever for cultivation, and but thinly covered with cypress-pine trees, was *cleared* by the convicts. The timber, which would now have been very valuable for ornamental furniture, was in the meantime destroyed.

2. A wharf or jetty for lading and unlading vessels was constructed at considerable expense, at least of convict labour, towards the mouth of the Brisbane River, on the Government establishment of Eagle Farm ; but after it was completed it was discovered that there was a mud-flat or sand-bank between the wharf and the deep water which effectually prevented any vessel from getting up to it.

3. A swamp on the Brisbane River, near Brisbane Town, was drained at a very considerable expense, under the idea that it would be well adapted for the growth of rice, and the Superintendent had it sown accordingly ; but instead of sowing the grain in its natural state of *paddy*, it was sown in its manufactured state of rice, procured for the purpose from a merchant's store in Sydney ! It was much the same as if an English farmer had sown his field with pearl barley. Of course the settlement was pronounced unsuited for the cultivation of rice !

And this is the way British money goes at Penal Settlements under military management !

on account of the many and great abuses that had arisen from the gross mismanagement of the system in that colony; but that transportation itself, as a secondary punishment, should be continued and carried out, under the reformed system of management which the experience of half a century in New South Wales would suggest, in a series of Penal Settlements or Colonies along the east coast to the northward. Now, I am happy to find that, after ten years of additional experimenting on secondary punishments, both at home and in Van Dieman's Land, at the suggestion of certain pseudo-philanthropists in England, who have taken up the most unfounded and absurd notions on the subject of transportation generally, my idea is at length to be realized by Her Majesty's Government in the new Penal Colony about to be formed in what is called North Australia. Being naturally desirous, therefore, that on such a subject, in which, as an Australian colonist, I cannot but feel a deep interest, the errors of the past should serve as a useful lesson, in the way of warning, for the future, I must entreat the reader's forbearance while I offer a few additional remarks on this important subject.

Presuming, therefore, that it is the object and desire of Her Majesty's Government that the future Penal Colony of North Australia should eventually become a free colony, the seat of commerce and manufactures, and the chosen abode of an industrious and virtuous people, I would have this ultimate destination kept steadily in view from the formation of the first settlement within its territory. With this view I would recommend that, in the first instance, its limits should be permanently fixed, its entire coast-line accurately surveyed, and its capabilities both by sea and land thoroughly ascertained. Such a survey as even Captain Flinders made of Shoal Bay, Moreton Bay, and Port Curtis, would evidently be insufficient for this purpose, as it might leave the most important rivers or inlets along the coast undiscovered. The survey must be one of so minute a description as to leave no nook or corner along the

whole line of coast unexplored, and with this view an expedition by land, to follow up that of Dr. Leichhardt, to Cape York—the northern extremity of the Australian land to the eastward of the Gulf of Carpentaria—would be indispensably necessary. Such an expedition, by keeping towards the Pacific on its outward course, and towards the Gulf on its return, would cross every important stream in the territory, and show at once what part of the coast-line would be the most suitable to fix on for the future emporium of its commerce and the seat of its Government. This point being ascertained, therefore, I would recommend that the available convict labour of the settlement should be expended, not in attempting to raise food of any kind for the consumption of the convicts and troops (for this could in all probability be supplied at a much cheaper rate from the neighbouring free colonies of New South Wales and Cooksland), but in those works of indispensable necessity for a community of British origin which the nature of the harbour and the site of the future capital would suggest, such as the formation of quays or wharfs, roads or streets, the construction of tanks or reservoirs, if necessary, and the erection of public buildings. In this way much valuable property, in the shape of building allotments, &c., &c., would be created, the sale of which, on the opening up of the settlement for freemen, would reimburse the Government for a large portion of the expenditure incurred, while the comfort of the colonists and the advancement of the Colony would be greatly promoted. Nor should this process be confined to the mere capital of the new colony. Secondary towns would spring up rapidly in suitable localities both along the Pacific and along the Gulf of Carpentaria, and if the Government should only make a judicious choice of the sites for such towns, it would not only secure for itself the direction of the rapidly increasing stream of population and its guidance into the proper channels, but provide for the eventual repayment, in the way I have already indicated, of a large portion of the expenditure incurred in their formation.

The formation of a penal colony to the northward, is an event of the utmost importance to the colonists of Cooksland, as in all likelihood it will afford them, for many years to come, an eligible market for their agricultural produce, and an outlet for their superabundant stock. Supposing, then, that a permanent boundary should be fixed for both colonies, within a degree or two of Cape Capricorn, I would recommend that a boundary line for the new colony to the westward, should be drawn wherever the natural features of the country should render it desirable to run such a line, as nearly as possible to the meridian of the south-eastern angle of the gulf, and that the whole of the peninsula to Cape York should be included in the new colony; the greater extent of which from north to south would compensate for its comparatively small extent from east to west. From the recent expedition of Dr. Leichhardt, it has been ascertained that there is a large extent of pastoral country of the first quality in this peninsula; and taking into consideration the comparative mildness of its climate, notwithstanding its low latitude, its adaptation, as an intertropical country, to the agricultural productions of the East and West Indies, and its command of the Pacific on the one hand, and the Gulf of Carpentaria on the other, its prospects as a British colony are unquestionably peculiarly favourable.*

There is only one other recommendation which I would take the liberty to offer in connexion with this subject, and it is this: I would subject the whole of the convicts to a certain period of penitentiary discipline in England, in proportion to the length of their respective periods of sentence, and give them all, with the exception of the more atrocious criminals, conditional

* In a Lecture delivered in the School of Arts in Sydney, on the 18th August, 1846, by Dr. Leichhardt, that gentleman observes that "if a settlement is to be established on the east coast, it ought to be at the mouth of the Burdekin, which I suppose to be at Cape Upstart, on the southern extremity of Halifax Bay," between 18° and 19° S.

freedom, subject to the strict surveillance of the Colonial Police, on their arrival in the new colony. This arrangement would greatly simplify the transportation system; while, I am confident, it would greatly promote its efficiency and prodigiously diminish its expense. Those who should abuse this indulgence could easily be deprived of it, and worked in chain-gangs or double irons as heretofore. Such a change of system would doubtless imply the opening up of the new colony to free immigration from the first, and afford employment and virtual superintendence to the conditionally pardoned. And, fortunately, there is no inducement required to be held out by the Government to effect such an immigration. The fact that there is a large extent of pastoral country in the portion of the peninsula already explored, will speedily attract numerous Colonial Squatters to the new colony from Cooksland and New South Wales, with their flocks of sheep and their herds of cattle; and this will gradually absorb a large portion of the available labour of the new colony, on terms alike beneficial to the employer and the employed.*

* It is somewhat remarkable that these suggestions, which were written at sea, in the Great Southern Pacific Ocean, in July, 1846, should indicate the very system to be carried out by Her Majesty's present Government; with the exception of a period of hard labour at Public Works, (of a larger or shorter duration according to the sentence of the criminal,) which, it appears, is to be interposed between the solitary confinement in the first, instance, and the subsequent exile of the criminal. I confess I would prefer having the period of solitary confinement lengthened, and the labour at Public Works in England dispensed with altogether. There is a great deal of squeamishness in this country on the subject of solitary confinement, and its alleged baneful effects on the intellect of the criminal. If it were unaccompanied with labour of any kind, solitary confinement might have such effects; but with the accompaniment of regular employment—from which, moreover, the convict is allowed to derive some personal advantage in the shape of an allowance for surplus work beyond a regular set task, which is carried to his account against the period of his liberation—I cannot see how or why it should have the effects imputed to it as necessarily leading to insanity. I ascertained, for my own satisfaction, that in actual practice it had

The two localities in Moreton Bay, to which I have already referred, as presenting eligible sites for the fu-

no such effects in the United States ; the number of cases of insanity under the solitary system in that country not being greater than in penal establishments under any other system. And I am satisfied, from my own inquiries and observation, that there is no species of punishment so reformatory. I was locked-in successively, at my own request, in four or five of the convict cells in the Penitentiary of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1840, to see the system in actual operation, and to converse on the subject with the convicts themselves ; and I put the question as to the tendency to insanity to a medical officer of the establishment, and was referred to the medical statistics of the Institution to judge for myself. The opinion of the convicts themselves was highly in favour of its reformatory character ; and I am confident, that any good effects that might be anticipated from it in this country, in regard to the character and habits of the criminals, would be very much neutralized by a subsequent period of hard labour on Public Works in Great Britain. Let the period of solitary confinement, accompanied with the species of labour which may be practicable under such a system, be lengthened considerably, and let the convict be sent out by all means direct to the colonies of his future exile from the prison of his solitary confinement.

When Earl Grey announced his proposals on this subject, in the month of March last, certain of the Peers, from a sort of squeamishness of a different kind, proposed that the future convicts, to be treated in this way, should be sent out in ships carrying emigrants ; forgetting that emigrants, even of the humblest class, would reasonably object to any such arrangement, and that the forcing of such persons upon them as fellow-passengers, which would soon come to be discovered, would unquestionably damage the cause of emigration to an incalculable degree. No ; let the convicts be sent out in their proper character, as convicts who have suffered their punishment in part, and have had the rest remitted, and let their freedom be given them only on their arrival in the land of their future exile. With an extensive contemporaneous free emigration, these persons would easily be absorbed by the colonial population, without detriment to the general morals of the community ; and as there will be unlimited employment afforded for agricultural labourers in Cooksland, and in the country still farther to the northward, there would be little difficulty in disposing of a comparatively large prison population in this way. The remarks in the text would still be applicable in regard to that portion of the exiles that might relapse into their former habits of criminality ; but under a well-regulated system of the kind proposed, I do not suppose that the number of such relapses would be great.

ture port of the territory of Cooksland, are Cleveland Point, between the mouths of the Brisbane and Logan Rivers, and Toorbal, in Bribie's Island Passage, close to the North Entrance of the bay. Cleveland Point is perfectly sheltered from all winds but the North, to which, however, it lies open through the northern entrance of the bay; but it very rarely blows violently from that quarter, and even if it should, there is an island in the bay called Peel's Island, about three miles distant to the eastward, to which vessels could easily run from the Point, in the event of a northerly gale, and under the lee of which they would be completely sheltered from that quarter. Cleveland Point is also within thirty miles of Ipswich, the head of the navigation of the Bremer River, the principal tributary of the Brisbane, which again is only thirty-eight miles to Cunningham's Gap, the only practicable passage across the Coast Range to the splendid tract of table-land to the westward, called Darling Downs, the whole of the intervening country from the Point to the base of the mountains being nearly a dead level. But there is a great extent of shallow water at the Point, which would render a large expenditure for carrying out the necessary embankments to the edge of the deep water indispensable. Besides, Cleveland Point is distant not less than thirty miles from the north entrance of the bay; and the navigation is rather intricate from the number of islands, sandbanks, and shoals along the channel. In a series of Memoranda, drawn up at my request by Mr. Andrew Petrie, one of the Scotch mechanics who emigrated to New South Wales, per the *Stirling Castle*, in the year 1831, and for many years Superintendent of Government Works at Moreton Bay, Cleveland Point is described in the following manner:—"A commercial town was proposed within a mile of this Point. There is a natural jetty of rocks; and by forming a pier of wood or stone, about a quarter of a mile, small vessels could take in and discharge cargo. Ships can lie at anchor in four to six fathom water, good holding ground. A tram-road could be formed with very little expense

from the proposed site of the town to the pier-head. There is an abundant supply of fresh water within half a mile of the proposed town. A considerable portion of land adjacent to the Point, and the intervening country from the mouth of the Brisbane to the Logan River, including the whole extent of country that is now occupied by the Government herds, is suitable for small farms. The ground is well adapted for the cultivation of wheat, maize, potatoes, tobacco, the vine and the pine-apple, all kinds of vegetables, also the cotton and the coffee plant."

On the other hand, Toorbal* is close to the North Entrance of Moreton Bay, and is therefore easily accessible for vessels either from the northward or the southward of the Bay. Bribie's Island Passage, of which it forms the western point at the entrance, was discovered in 1799, by Captain Flinders, who, supposing it a river, called it Pumice-Stone River, from the quantity of pumice-stones found on its banks. It is referred to in the following terms by Mr. Uniacke, in his *Observations*, already quoted: "On Saturday the 29th November, (1823,) we anchored in Pumice-Stone River, Moreton Bay, within 150 yards of the shore, in the very place where Captain Flinders had anchored twenty-two years before, on discovering *the harbour*." "Pumice-Stone River," observes Mr Oxley, in his Report to his Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane, 10th Jan. 1824, "affords good anchorage for vessels not drawing more than twelve feet water. The best channel is close to the mainland. There is plenty of fresh water in the vicinity of Point Skirmish, [at the southern extremity of Bribie's Island,] and though the soil is poor and sandy, the country is covered with good timber. Among other species the *Callitris Australis* is most abundant. It grows close to the shore, and can be procured of considerable size, adapted to most of the purposes required in building." "Toorbal Point," says Mr. Andrew Petrie, "is situated near the northern entrance of the Bay.

* The native name.

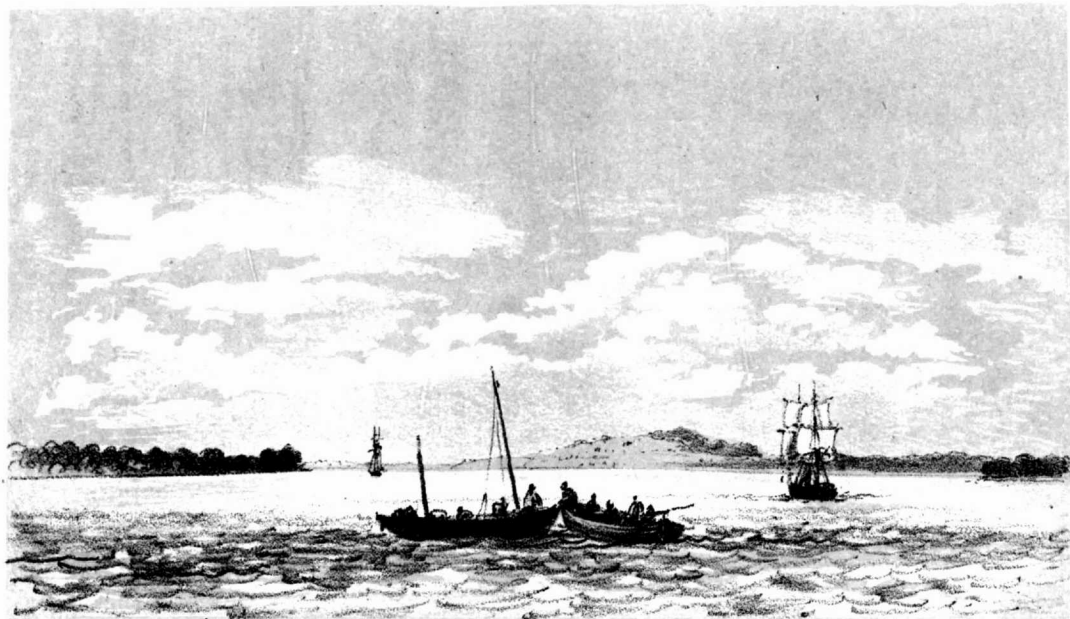
It is a part of the mainland, forming the south entrance of Bribie's Passage. This point of land would answer for a commercial town. The passage forms a good harbour, well sheltered from all winds. A direct line of road could be formed from it to the country to the westward. There is plenty of fresh water close to the harbour. In the immediate neighbourhood the ground is not good. A few miles off there is a considerable quantity of rich land; also the ground around the Glasshouse Mountains is very fertile, the soil consisting of decomposed lava. The country adjacent is well adapted for grazing and agricultural farming. As to the whole country bounded by the Bay, from the South passage to the North, running a distance of about fifty miles, a considerable portion of this country is well adapted for an agricultural population. What the district stands most in need of is roads and bridges." "Toorbal Point," observes David Archer, Esq., an intelligent Squatter on the Upper Brisbane, in a letter addressed to myself, of date, Upper Brisbane, 17th May, 1846, "is the projecting angle of a ridge about two hundred yards wide, and thirty to fifty feet above the level of the sea, running parallel to the beach. This ridge runs about two miles N.E. along Bribie's Passage. Its range to the south, along the bay, I do not know. It is backed landward by an extensive swamp, which, according to the statement of the black who accompanied me, contains abundance of fresh water. The soil of this ridge is very light, but contains a sufficiency of vegetable mould, to make good garden soil. A low ridge of the same quality connects the above with the range of the Glasshouses, about ten miles south of the principal Glasshouse, Birwal, and would make an excellent line of communication with the interior. The only water I saw near the point, was a small water-hole and one or two wells scooped out by the blacks, in hollows near the swamp. There is plenty of fresh water in small holes a few miles inland. Bribie's Passage appeared to me to be about a mile wide. A short distance from the entrance at Toorbal, it be-

comes completely land-locked. I had not any means of ascertaining whether there is sufficient depth of water in Bribie's Passage, to admit ships of large burden. From the appearance of the water, I apprehend there are many shallows."

On the whole, Toorbal Point appears to me to be, beyond all comparison, the fittest point for the future commercial capital and seat of Government for the Territory of Cooksland. In regard to the depth of water in the "completely land-locked" harbour, formed by Bribie's Island Passage, the soundings given by Captain Flinders indicate a sufficient depth for vessels of any burden. It is true that, as also indicated by that able navigator, and confirmed by the subsequent observations of Mr. Oxley, there is only a depth of two fathoms at the very entrance of the passage; but as a gradual deposit of sand and mud has evidently been forming over the whole expanse of Moreton Bay for many ages past, it is evident that the greater accumulation of this matter that has taken place, at the particular spot where Toorbal Point projects considerably from the mainland towards Bribie's Island, has arisen, in consequence of that obstruction, from southerly winds in the bay, and could in all likelihood be easily removed, and the channel kept open for the largest vessels, at a trifling expense.

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ENTRANCE INTO SHOAL BAY LOOKING EASTWARD.

F. SCHENCK, LITH. EDIN^B

CHAPTER II.

THE THREE SOUTHERN RIVERS—THE CLARENCE, THE RICHMOND,
AND THE TWEED.

Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine ;
Where the light wings of zephyr, oppress'd with perfume,
Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gul in her bloom ;
Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute ;
Where the tints of the earth, and the hues of the sky,
In colour though varied, in beauty may vie,
And the purple of ocean is deepest in dye ?

BYRON.

I HAVE already stated, that in the year 1799, Lieutenant Flinders was despatched from Sydney, in a small Colonial vessel, by Governor Hunter, to examine two inlets to the northward, indicated by Captain Cook, but not explored. The following is an account of that part of his voyage, which records his discovery and partial examination of Shoal Bay, already referred to, extracted from Captain Collins' Account of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, Vol. II. p. 230 :—

“ At half-past three,” (August 11th, 1799,) “ a peaked hill, standing four or five miles inland, and more conspicuous than usual, bore true west. Before five, the vessel stood in for what appeared to be an opening, and about dusk was in the entrance to a wide Shoal Bay ; soon after which, she anchored in two and a-half fathoms on a hard sandy bottom.

“ The objects in view, that induced Mr. Flinders to

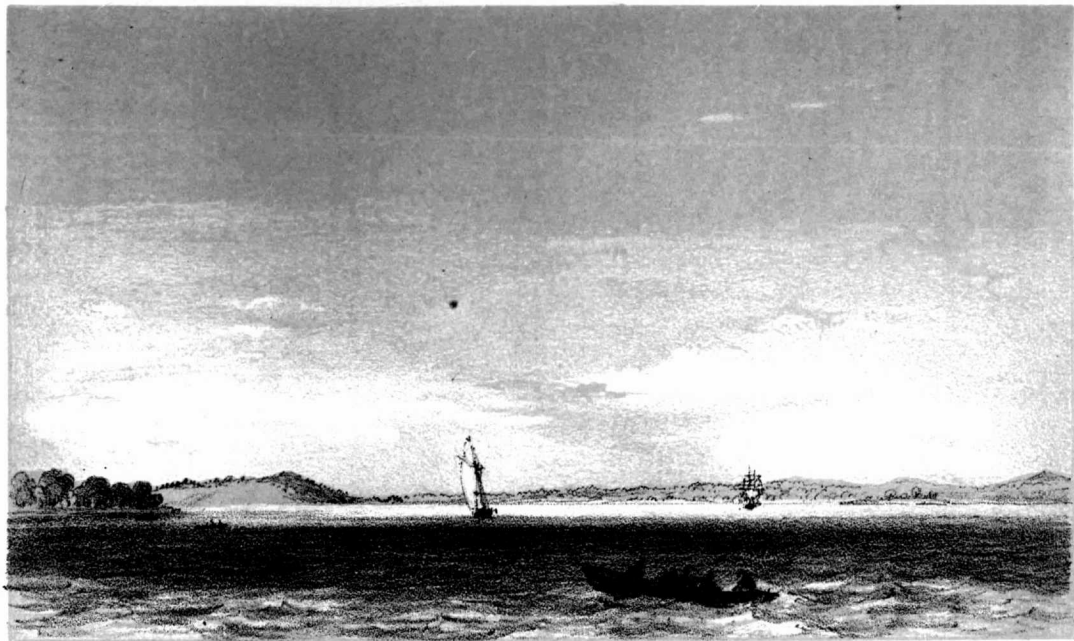
enter this bay, were that he might have daylight to run along the remaining part of the coast, which had been passed by Captain Cook in the night, and to ascertain a place of safety to run for, should the wind come dead on the coast on his return.

"On examining this bay in his boat, he found it to be very shallow. The north point of the entrance into it was only a projecting spit of sandy ground. Having returned to the sloop about noon, he landed on the south head for the purpose of observing for the latitude, which, by a meridional altitude of the sun, he found $29^{\circ} 26' 28''$, for the entrance into the Bay.

"This bay not appearing to deserve more than a superficial examination, Mr. Flinders did not think it worth consuming much of his time, and therefore got under weigh at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th.

"He could not give any particular mark that would point out the situation of Shoal Bay, except its latitude, and the somewhat remarkably peaked hill, lying about four leagues to the southward of it. *Were any vessel ever likely to visit it*, it would be necessary to observe that either of two heads, which bore from the vessel S.W. by W., and W. by N., behind which there was some appearance of an inlet, might be mistaken for the South Head of the Bay."

It was not likely that any vessel from New South Wales would think of visiting Shoal Bay from choice, after this virtual sentence of condemnation pronounced upon it; and, accordingly, the noble river that empties itself into it remained unknown till it was accidentally discovered by some cedar-cutters from Sydney in the year 1838. Shortly thereafter, an expedition was planned by a few private individuals in Sydney, to explore the newly-discovered river, and to ascertain its capabilities; and S. A. Perry, Esq., the Deputy-Surveyor-General of the Colony, being invited to form one of the party, the following Report on the subject was submitted by that Officer to His Excellency the Governor, on his return :—



SHOAL BAY.

FR. SCHENCK, LITH. EDIN⁸

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REPORT BY THE DEPUTY-SURVEYOR-GENERAL ON THE
CLARENCE RIVER, JUNE, 1839.

IN the northern division the stations of the settlers were extended over most of the country that had been traversed by Cunningham many years ago ; and it was, consequently, an object of importance to them to economize their land transport as much as possible. Moreton Bay was already under survey, according to instructions issued in January, 1839. Some vague information had been received from various quarters concerning a navigable river rising in the coast range, flowing through a fine country, and entering the sea between Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay ; but the peculiar circumstances of this settlement had hitherto precluded the possibility of collecting any specific information with regard to the tract of country in question. The accounts of a new district, holding out prospects of advantage to settlers, both in an agricultural and commercial point of view, induced the owner of the steam-vessel, *King William*, to despatch her for the purpose of affording parties interested in the discovery an opportunity of verifying, by personal observation, the accounts that had been received.

The Deputy-Surveyor-General was permitted to join in the excursion, and directed to communicate to the Government such information as might appear to him essential towards the future opening of the country on the banks of the river, which it was intended to explore.

Accordingly, on the 20th May, the *King William* left Sydney, and reached Port Macquarie on the 23d, having been delayed some time at Newcastle. After landing some invalids and passengers at Port Macquarie, the *King William* proceeded on her trip, and arrived off Shoal Bay, latitude $29^{\circ} 20'$, on the following evening ; but it being late, and the weather somewhat squally, the entrance was deferred until the next morning, 25th May, when the vessel crossed the bar in two fathoms water. The approach is round a beautiful grassy hill, forming the south head, to the northward of which is a reef of sunken rocks, that render the entrance somewhat hazardous to strange vessels.

The north shore, like those of the Hunter and Hastings, is an extensive sand spit, so that in the present state of the reef, vessels entering run well to the northward, and then haul close, so as to bring the peaked hill clear, (apparently inland) of the south head ; they then hug the southern bank (the channel of the river being on this side,) and round the sand spit on the northern side. The soundings taken on the bar varied from four fathoms to quarter less two ; but the tide had been ebbing for nearly two hours, so that at high-water twelve feet may be confidently relied on. The schooner, *David Ogilvie*, was lying at the mouth of the river waiting for a wind, at the time that the *King William* entered.

As the coals taken in at Newcastle were intended for the whole trip, it was necessary to husband the supply by the use of wood, in running up and down the river ; the steamer, therefore, anchored close to the shore on the north side of the river, and remained there till Monday the 27th May, the interval being occupied by the passengers in the interchange of civilities with a tribe of native blacks, who were huddled in a sort of temporary village at the head of a deep estuary, which appears to give a considerable command of fishing-ground—such a position being essential to their subsistence.

The canoes of these blacks were formed with more care than those in the neighbourhood of Port Macquarie, and other places that had been visited ; and were moored in a line in front of their village. The natives appeared to possess, to a certain extent, habits of industry: their fishing nets, baskets, water-vessels, and cooking utensils, being constructed with peculiar care and neatness. These people were delighted with being presented with some fish-hooks. They were much terrified at the first appearance of fire-arms. Like most savages, they are addicted to thieving ; this propensity has unfortunately led to outrages on the part of some of the whites, the effect of which it will be extremely difficult to avert.

For about fifteen miles up the river the soundings varied from three to five fathoms, the average breadth being nearly a quarter of a mile ; but, owing to the denseness of the brush on the banks, no part of the country could be seen from the deck of the vessel, but was completely screened by a mass of most luxuriant vegetation : the stems of gigantic trees, covered with climbing plants of various descriptions, and which fell down in graceful festoons from the upper branches, produced an effect observable only in a region fresh from the hand of nature.

After passing a wide estuary to the northward, the steamer approached high ground, at the foot of which was another native village ; but the inhabitants fled at the appearance of the vessel, leaving behind them some fishing nets and cooking utensils, that were afterwards found in the same position when the party returned.

About five miles above this estuary, the river divides into two branches, formed by an island of about 120 square miles in extent. The mouth of the southern branch is somewhat obstructed by sunken rocks, but which the steamer managed to pass on her return.

A little above the junction of the two branches, another very wide estuary occurs. Opposite the entrance of this estuary the *King William* anchored for the night of the 27th, at the foot of a mountain that was named Rocket Point, and on the following morning proceeded on her course along a magnificent reach of about eighteen miles in length, there being sufficient breadth to work a sailing vessel as high up as Susan Island, about sixty miles from Shoal Bay, by the course of the river, and the depth

seldom less than five fathoms. For want of sufficient information as to the shoals that are formed at some of the elbows by the washing down of the light soil, the vessel grounded between the last mentioned estuary and Susan Island, but was got off at high tide, on the afternoon of the 29th, and reached a station occupied by Phillips, where the frame of a vessel from 120 to 150 tons burden was on the stocks. The country in this neighbourhood becomes slightly undulated; the banks of the river at the water's edge are about fifteen feet high; but a little retired from these are swamps and alluvial plains many miles in extent, the land being all of a description similar to the rich flats on the banks of the Hawkesbury. A little above Susan Island the water is fresh; the river, although narrower and more confined in its banks, still preserving nearly the same depth as lower down, the soundings varying from two to seven fathoms for twenty miles higher, (excepting at one or two shoals, the situations of which are well known to the cedar-cutters.) The dense brush with which the lower part is fringed now occurs only at intervals; the banks are bold, rocky, and occasionally varied by gentle slopes; the character of the country, that of open forest grazing country, of sandstone formation.

At three P.M., on the 30th May, the steamer brought up at the foot of a rapid, and was moored close under the left bank, having then made about eighty-five miles, by the course of the river, from the heads. In commemoration of an event that has not occurred in any other part of this country, viz., a very large steamer navigating so far into the interior, the mount under which she lay was named King William's Mount.

A little above this point is the confluence of the two branches, both navigable for boats a considerable distance above their junction, probably fifteen miles by their course.

The southern branch was examined by the party above twelve miles, soundings being taken the whole way, which gave from one to four fathoms; but the river was evidently much above its ordinary level, and the current very rapid. From a high point immediately above the confluence of the northern and southern branches, the general features of the great range dividing the eastern from the western waters were distinguished, the distance of the nearest remarkable mountains being apparently about twenty-five miles, the most remote about forty. To the westward (nearly due west) is an immense chasm, backed by bold and lofty mountains; one mountain, bare of timber on its eastern side, and of volcanic appearance, standing alone, about midway between the eye and the range forming the background. The first waters of the river seem to collect in this great chasm, and, forcing their way through those parts which offer the least resistance, find an outlet.

In consequence of the absence of two seamen belonging to the *King William*, the steamer remained stationary till the 5th of June, when she returned to Phillip's station at Susan Island; a

slight fall had taken place in the river ; but at Phillip's the water was still fresh, which is not the case during the dry months ; so that the difference of level between this point and the coast must be very inconsiderable.

On Saturday the 8th June, the steamer descended by the southern arm of the river, and attempted to navigate a stream falling into it from the south ; but its progress was arrested by some sunken rocks at the mouth, where she remained until high tide on Monday the 10th June ; she then pursued her course until again brought up upon a rock at the junction, a little below the estuary, and nearly opposite Rocket Point, where the steamer had anchored on the night of the 27th May, as mentioned above. During this detention some of the party ascended a high point, commanding a view over the immense alluvial plains between it and the ocean.

The steamer was got afloat at high tide, and, by cutting away some overhanging branches, a channel was found for her close to the bank of the island ; she then proceeded towards the position she had taken up on the day of her entrance into Shoal Bay, and on her way took in the two men who had wandered from the party in the reconnoissance of the upper part of the river. These men, it appears, had forgotten that they were in the southern hemisphere, and, by travelling east, when they fancied they were going west, had reached the coast under Peaked Hill. They represented that during their journey they had fallen in with some tribes of native blacks, by whom they were supplied with food, and otherwise kindly treated.

As a field for the employment of capital in agricultural and commercial pursuits, the opening of a tract of fine country so situated, with respect to the stations to the westward, is contemplated with satisfaction by those who may be considered competent judges. In the lower part of the district alone there is room for a large body of industrious emigrants ; and such is the nature of the soil, that little apprehension is entertained of its affording abundant compensation for the labour that may be bestowed on the cultivation of wheat, maize, the vine, tobacco, sugar, indigo, and many other articles of consumption, and even of export. The height of the neighbouring mountains, so near the coast, ensure to this quarter some protection from the hot winds that prevail to a great extent in more exposed parts, and to their proximity to the coast may be attributed the frequency of showers in times when other districts are parched with drought. The connexion with Moreton Bay, where the survey is steadily progressing, is already established, by the discovery of a practicable route between the coast-range and the sea ; and with respect to the operations that are necessary as a preparatory arrangement to render the country at the back of Shoal Bay available for settlers of every class, contracts have been entered into for the survey of both banks of the river. The survey of the north bank of the M'Leay river is also in progress ; so that the whole coun-

try extending on the north from Moreton Bay to the coast-range, on the west from Cunningham's Gap to the crest of the Liverpool range, on the south from the sources of the Peel to the coast in latitude 32° , and on the east to latitude $28^{\circ} 5'$ (Moreton Bay), comprising an area of about 40,000 square miles, may be said to be in a state of preparation, as regards the survey, for immediate location.

With the view of rendering the Clarence available as a port for the shipment of wool, as well as of ascertaining whether the resources of the country were sufficient to hold out inducements to form fresh stations, several land expeditions have been undertaken, and the result is, that a practicable track for driving stock across the country has been discovered ; but whether in the most suitable direction can only be determined on the completion of the survey of the whole country between the sources of the river and the heads of the M'Leay. According to all information that has reached head-quarters, the Clarence takes its rise in the mountain called " Ben Lomond," the principal branch running in a north-easterly direction till it unites with another branch falling from the northward, and is again met by a river which rises on the Peaked Hill, near the coast. On the banks of these streams several settlers have already established themselves ; and a considerable quantity of stock is now ranging over the country eastward of the coast-range, that had heretofore been looked upon as an impassable barrier.

At this moment about 200 persons of various classes, viz., graziers, mechanics, farm-servants, and mariners, occupy the country between the mountain and the sea, the access to which formerly presented difficulties too serious to contemplate, unless counterbalanced by advantages that would compensate the risk of enterprise. At the head of the navigation a post-office has been established ; a store, also, for the supply of the settlers, has been established here by a mercantile house in Sydney. Several vessels are employed in the transport of articles of consumption, and the utmost activity prevails on the banks of the river, in appropriating the advantages placed by nature at the disposal of civilized man. Owing to various disasters and apprehensions, the survey by contract proceeds less rapidly than was expected. Three parishes are laid out and described in sections, ready for sale, and some spots have been pointed out as sites for the formation of towns and villages ; but the principal point of concentration has not yet been determined. It therefore appears desirable that some further advance should be made on the part of the settlers, before any of the land be brought into the market for public sale. It may be observed, that the circumstance of a vessel, built in Sydney by one of the earliest occupiers of a station on the Clarence, and who was constantly in the receipt of information with respect to the nature of the entrance, and the soundings up the river, being despatched with passengers and merchandise, all destined for the upper part of the river, is an

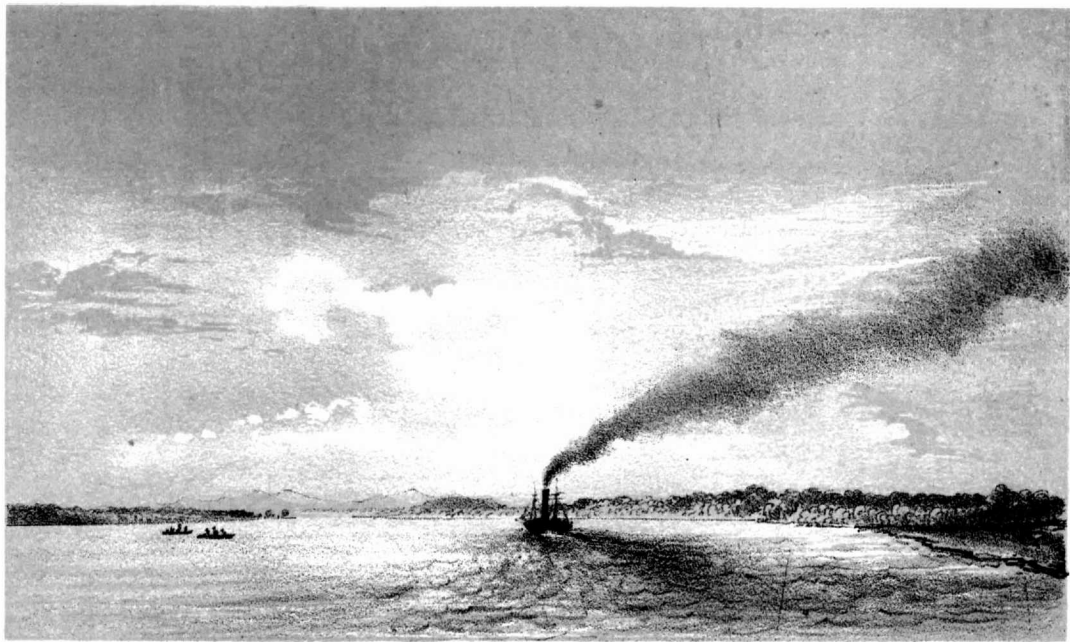
evidence of the general opinion of the value of the accession to the parts already under location.

S. A. PERRY.

Having intimated to Captain Perry my intention to publish a work of some kind or other on the Northern Division of the Colony on my arrival in England, to make known its extraordinary capabilities in the mother-country, with a view, if possible, to direct a copious stream of Protestant emigration to the more eligible portions of its ample territory, that able and zealous officer, with the warm interest he has uniformly taken in promoting the real welfare and advancement of the colony, did me the favour to give me the following additional Memoranda, the result of a subsequent visit to the Clarence in the year 1842, as also a series of Sketches of the scenery on the banks of the river, which he had taken on his first visit, from the deck of the steamboat ; with full permission to make use of both in any way I might think the most likely to promote the best interests of that important section of the colony. The Sketches, although taken in a hurried manner and without the slightest view to publication, as the vessel swept rapidly along the successive headlands and reaches of the noble river, will, I am sure, prove a most acceptable addition to this volume, in the estimation of every intelligent reader, and will not only do honour to the pencil of Captain Perry, but enable the reader to form a pretty accurate idea of the natural scenery on the banks of all the other navigable rivers of Cooksland ; as they all bear a striking resemblance to each other in their aboriginal state, before their wild solitudes have been invaded by civilized man.

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA ON THE CLARENCE RIVER, BY
CAPTAIN PERRY.

In the middle of the year 1842, business took me to the Clarence River, which, however, I had visited three years previously. The navigation of the river for all vessels that can cross the bar, which is rather formidable in appearance, extends as high as about sixty miles from the Heads, that is, according to the course



MOUTH OF THE CLARENCE RIVER.

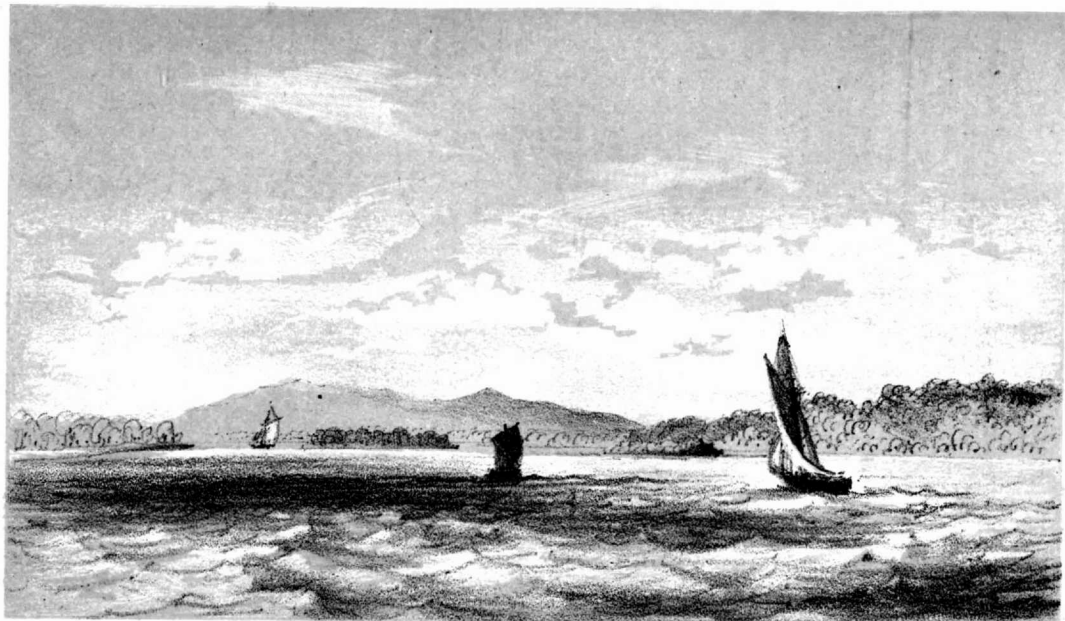
FR SCHENCK, LITH. EDIN.^R

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of the river, though the distance in a direct line cannot be much more than thirty miles. The navigation is exceedingly beautiful. After crossing the bar, you enter into a broad expanse of water, perfectly land-locked, and without any apparent current—hence the first nautical surveyors, imagining that what they saw in the Bay was the whole extent of the water, called it Shoal Bay. On the south side of the Bay is an estuary of considerable extent, navigable for boats, and abounding with fish of enormous size, resembling cod-fish—those I saw were nearly six feet long. On the banks of this estuary is a large tract of good country, varied in surface, and admirably adapted for cultivation, being chiefly a deposit from the neighbouring mountains, the geological character of which I had not the means of ascertaining ; but I should surmise that they are chiefly of sand-stone formation, the soil in the vallies being light. Round a low wooded island, on the west side of the Bay, flows the river (perhaps miscalled, for it appears to be still but an arm of the sea) and which is of majestic beauty. Its breadth may be averaged at half-a-mile, and the depth varying from five to nine fathoms—on each side the banks present a deep belt of the most luxuriant forest-brush upon soil of the richest description—the breadth of the brush seldom exceeds the eighth of a mile, behind which are extensive reedy swamps and slight undulations. There are no lofty mountains very near the coast ; a few miles above the island above-mentioned, the river breaks to the northward into a delta. I went a considerable distance up the principal branch, and found everywhere excellent land of a light description, some of the nooks presenting pine brushes. The height of the pine trees, at the full growth, is about ninety feet, and they are as straight as an arrow. Their timber is light, close-grained, and admirably adapted for floorings, as well as for masts of small vessels. About fifteen miles above Shoal Bay, the river breaks into two arms, both of which are navigable. At an elbow formed by the northern arm, a vast estuary opens to view ; the land on its immediate banks is of good quality, but of no great extent eastward, in which direction it is confined by a range of moderately high mountains. To the northward, the land is more open, and recedes more from the banks of the estuary ; on the west side also there is a considerable extent of good land, consisting chiefly of large reedy swamps. The northern is the principal arm of the river, and along its banks, which are clothed with brush, less dense than lower down, the land is rich and deep, and throwing out many splendid specimens of the great native fig-tree, a species of caoutchouc, from the upper branches of which festoons of cane resembling the sugar cane frequently occur. The island formed by the union of the north and south arms of the river, contains, by estimation, 40,000 acres of land, the greater part of which is of excellent quality, and its advantages for the location of a settlement of industrious persons are obvious. When I visited it, (and I walked from one end to the

other) there were but two families living upon it—one was managing a dairy-farm, and the other building a vessel of 150 tons burthen for the coasting trade. The eastern part of the island consists of a small range of mountains about 400 feet high, commanding views up and down the river, (which, at this point bears a strong resemblance to the Rhine, between Coblenz and Nieuwied) and to the Great South Pacific. This mountain, with its lateral branches, affords pasturage for cattle, and a limited number of sheep. Between it and the northern arm of the river is a lagoon of fresh water, of the most delicious coolness, and clear as crystal, around which the land is of the richest description, being the alluvial deposit from the mountain. For a considerable distance beyond the lagoon (westward) the land is still of a grazing character, and so continues till about the middle of the island, from whence, to the south-west extremity, it is of surpassing fertility—the grass, as we walked through it, was above our heads, and so thick, that it was requisite during the whole of our walk to perform with our arms something like the action of swimming, and to keep near together lest we should lose our leader in the long grass. In the brushes by which the island, is margined, and on the opposite banks (particularly on the south side) there was abundance of cedar, which has now been considerably thinned by the parties licensed by the Government to cut it for export. About midway between the lagoon above-mentioned, and the south-west extremity of the island, is another lagoon; and in fact there is no scarcity of water. On the opposite bank near the south-west extremity of the island, a small river, taking its rise in the marshes at the foot of the mountains between the Clarence and the Orara, flows through a rich country, more varied in surface than the island. From this river to the confluence of the Orara with the Clarence, a distance of nearly thirty miles, by a depth of three to five miles, all the land is admirably adapted for cultivation—the maize produced upon such parts of it as have been cultivated is equal to any I have seen, and is a never failing crop, easy of cultivation, and always commanding a market, as forage for horses, or for the fattening of pigs, poultry, &c.; but the part between the river last mentioned and the Clarence is far superior, as a country for cultivation, to any of an equal extent that I have seen. In one block of about 30,000 acres, there appears to be scarcely an acre of what may be called indifferent land, and the whole is so intersected with streams and fresh water marshes, that if such a block were divided into farms of 300 acres, each farm would have its proportion of the advantages common to the whole. On the north-west side of the Clarence, that is to say, between the Clarence and the Richmond Rivers, the land is nearly of similar character, extensive reedy swamps near the river, and from thence gentle undulations as far as the right bank of the Richmond, but which river I have not seen. I may add, however, that report speaks in the



F. SCHENCK, LITH. EDIN.

VIEW TO THE NORTHWARD AT THE OPENING OF THE ESTUARIES.

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highest terms of its capabilities to support a numerous population of the industrious classes.

At the present moment the whole of the beautiful country between the Clarence and the Richmond is in the hands of a few Squatters or licensed graziers, some sawyers, and one or two storekeepers; all of whom would, however, be materially benefited by the introduction of such a population as that to which I have alluded.

The lands on the right bank of the Clarence have all been measured and marked out in portions of 640 acres each (except where the section lines are broken by the intervention of permanent water-courses) to a considerable distance from the river, so that persons desirous of purchasing any quantity exceeding 640 acres, could be put into possession of their lands without any other delay than would be occasioned by following the routine prescribed by the Act of Parliament. The most convenient course to be pursued would be to move the Governor to proclaim for sale any given number of sections already surveyed, and of which the descriptions are all ready for the deeds of alienation. Any of these, if not bid for at the sale, may be taken at the upset price of twenty shillings an acre according to the 12th section of the Waste Lands Act, *upon which it is assumed that the emigrant purchaser should receive a remission on his purchase to the amount of the expense incurred in emigrating*, or upon such scale as may be determined by the Emigration Board in London.

The facilities of settling upon these lands are known only to those who have experienced the life of a bushman in Australia, where, during any part of the year, a few nights may be passed under the canopy of heaven, if necessary, without the slightest injury to health. But such a resource is wholly unnecessary; for a couple of men with axes will, in the course of a few hours, peel as much bark from the gigantic trees with which the country is sprinkled, as would suffice to lodge temporarily a very large family—this is the first step towards location. The next is to fell a number of the smaller trees, dress them roughly, and form with them buildings, or framework for buildings, of a character somewhat more permanent, or to split the larger timber into slabs, both for buildings, and to form enclosures for cattle.

On many of the large plains I have alluded to, there are not more than two or three trees to the acre, and the land is totally devoid of underwood or coppice. The culturist has therefore merely to cut the bark from around the lower part of these trees, if he have not time or assistance to fell them; they will then wither, and he may without further process commence his ploughing, and the first crop of maize which he will pluck within six months after sowing, should be at the rate of about sixty bushels to the acre. If he should arrive in the winter season, when he will still be in time to put in wheat, he should enclose, at first, two or three acres, and plant them with cuttings of the vine,

which flourishes extremely well in this climate, and in the second year his heart will be made glad with wine of his own growth.

Meanwhile cattle, which can now be purchased at a very moderate price, and perhaps one small flock of sheep, may graze in the neighbouring hills, as they require no other tending than that of one of the youngsters of the family.

I should add, with respect to the large island mentioned, that coasting vessels loaded with cattle or other produce, can lie alongside at the eastern extremity by a sort of natural wharf, which adds materially to the importance of the position.

S. A. PERRY, *Deputy-Surveyor-General.*

11th March, 1846.

P.S.—With respect to the climate, I make the latitude of the mouth of the Clarence 29° 20' S., and although rather hot in the day-time, I have never heard of the existence of any epidemic diseases. From the month of April, during the winter, frosts occur at night; I have seen ice the thickness of a shilling on the water when I rose in the morning. I usually slept with a fire in my room, from which I felt no inconvenience.

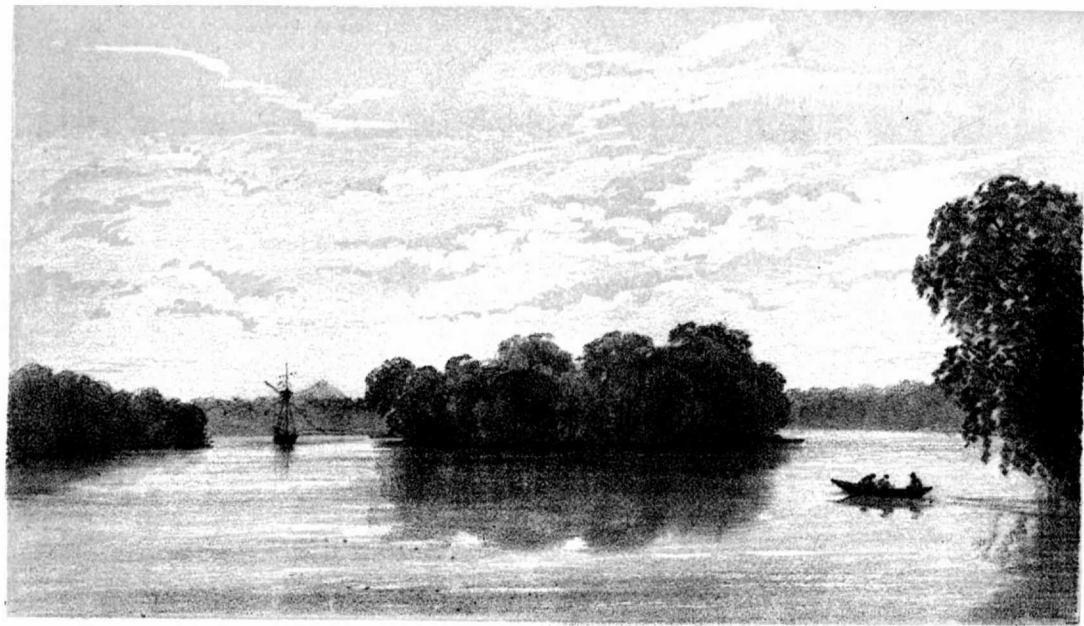
To this interesting memorandum of the Deputy-Surveyor-General, I shall merely add the following description of one of the parishes on the lower part of the Clarence River, recently surveyed and laid off for settlement by Mr. Surveyor Wilson.

SURVEYOR'S DESCRIPTION of the PARISH of ULMARRA, on the CLARENCE RIVER, consisting of 25,005 acres.

The soil of this parish is of a light, rich alluvial formation, with a substratum of strong clay, and contains no stone whatever. It is highly calculated for agricultural purposes. The forest brush is very thick on the banks of the rivers, but this is chiefly on account of the vines and other parasitical plants which are easily cleared away. Most of the reedy plains are swampy in the rainy season, and dry in summer. They are intersected by numerous wet ditches and water-holes, and might be drained with great advantage at a comparatively trifling expense.

The Clarence River is, on an average, from 450 to 600 yards wide, having steep banks, with a depth of from six to twenty feet of water, which gradually deepens about the centre from 30 to 40 and 60 feet. The tide rises about two feet six inches. The banks of the river are from 10 to 25 feet above the high water-mark.

The Coldstream River, (one of its tributaries) is in some places 120 yards wide, but its average width is from 55 to 70 yards. Its banks are abrupt, and its depth from 14 to 25 feet. It is navigable for vessels of 70 tons burthen, as high as Portion No. 23. There is plenty of water throughout this parish, except on the



SUSAN ISLAND.

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immediate banks of the Clarence, where, however, it may always be procured by sinking wells.

The timber consists chiefly of oak (*casuarina*), gum, turpentine, cedar, fig, nettle, rosewood, *flindersia*, hickory, with a great many species of scrub wood.

(Signed) W. C. B. WILSON, *Contract Surveyor*.

5th Dec. 1841.

(A true copy,) S. A. PERRY, *D. S. G.*

16th March 1846.

As the principal tributaries of the Clarence, and especially the beautiful river Orara, take their rise in the Snowy Mountains of New England—an elevated mountain ridge running east and west, and bounding that valuable tract of table-land to the northward—it commands a more regular supply of water than many of the rivers of Australia; not a few of which, although mighty torrents in times of flood, are mere dry channels, or at best a succession of pools, or waterholes, as they are technically called in the colony, in times of drought.

The Richmond River was discovered in the year 1828, by the Honourable Captain Rous, R.N., then commanding H. M. S. *Rainbow* on the Australian Station. It is thus described by that officer in the *Australian Quarterly Journal* (one of the somewhat numerous family of defunct colonial periodicals) for October 1828 :—

The Richmond, in lat. $28^{\circ} 53'$ long. $153^{\circ} 33'$, fills the opening in Flinders' chart about 14 miles to the southward of Cape Byron. You steer in due between two sand-banks, on which there is a heavy surf; then haul up to the north shore, where there is deep and smooth water close to the rocky point, sheltered by the outer bank. The entrance is wide—12 feet on the bar at half flood, and from 14 to 20 feet deep at the mouth, with a constant strong ebb tide from 3 to 5 miles per hour mid-channel, although there is a regular rise of 6 feet by the under flood. A sand-bank projects from the inner south shore, narrowing the channel to about 300 yards. It then opens suddenly to an expanse of two miles, with two dry sand-banks in the centre; the main body running W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N., then striking to the S. W. in a fine arm 24 feet deep, nearly a mile wide. It was explored in that direction about 20 miles, where it had not shoaled its depth, and the width was half a mile, running S. W. by S. Seventeen miles from the entrance there is a N. W. branch extending 5 miles, and ending in a low marshy jungle; and at the entrance there is a north branch about eight miles in extent—the banks low, covered with

mangroves, having the appearance of being often flooded. The general outline of the neighbouring country appeared to be flat open forest on the western bank, and thick jungle to the eastward, with fine timber; and as you ascend the river, the tea tree, mangrove, and swamp oak give place to Moreton pines, cedar, yellow wood, palms, and gum trees; the banks in general not exceeding ten feet in height—rich alluvial mould. As far as the eye could reach to the W. S. W. not a hill could be discovered of any size; and, on the whole, it appeared a remarkably flat country. Many natives were seen, and a few huts, upwards of 30 feet in length and 6 feet in height.

There is a small river about 10 miles N. W. by W. from the north bluff of Point Danger, inaccessible for boats.

Another river, about 8 miles N. W. from Cape Byron, running in a W. N. W. direction, with a narrow and deep channel, a rocky bar at the entrance, and a shallow north and south arm. Five miles to the southward there is a lagoon of brackish water at the back of the beach, about five miles in extent, which in common wet seasons would probably reach the north arm of the Richmond.

In lat. $29^{\circ} 43'$ there is a small river, with only three feet on the bar at low water, and three feet rise of tide.* It separates in two branches, one turning abruptly to the northward, and takes its rise in an open grassy plain under *Peaked Hill*; the other striking to the southward—neither of any extent. The entrance to Shoal Bay was found to be impracticable during southerly winds, owing to the heavy surf which broke across. There is a sunken rock, not noted in the charts, bearing N. by W., distant 7 or 8 miles from the southern *Solitary Island*, or in about lat. $30^{\circ} 1'$ long. $153^{\circ} 16'$, on which the sea breaks occasionally in moderate weather.

Not having had an opportunity of visiting either the Clarence or the Richmond River personally, and desirous of obtaining some additional information on the subject, especially as to the capabilities of the latter of these rivers, I took the liberty to address a letter to Oliver Fry, Esq., J.P., Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Border Police District of the Clarence (a gentleman of high standing in the district, and greatly esteemed for the zeal and ability with which he discharges the duties of his office, and the interest he uniformly takes in promoting the welfare and advance-

* I presume this is the Cowhallie Creek of Mr. Surveyor Hodgkinson.—J. D. L.

ment of that important section of the territory) requesting that he would favour me with a few observations on the general character and capabilities of the District, with a view to the advantages which it holds out for the settlement of an agricultural population. In reply to this communication, Mr. Fry did me the honour to send me the following able, interesting, and most gratifying Report:—

Report on the capabilities of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers, by Mr. Commissioner Fry.

The Border Police District of Clarence River, extending from the 28th to the 30th degree of south latitude, is bounded on the east by the Pacific, and on the west by the northern extremity of the great Liverpool range. It is divided into three almost equal portions by the rivers Clarence and Richmond, which receive their sources in the above-named range, and flow from thence in parallel directions, diverging from north-west to south-east, till they reach the coast, the former falling into the ocean at Shoal Bay, the latter about forty miles farther to the northward. In addition to these rivers, the district is intersected at various points by several other minor streams, both tributary and independent; but as none of them can be said to hold forth inducements to an agricultural population equal to those presented by the Clarence and Richmond, I shall confine my observations to these two rivers, and to such localities in their immediate vicinity as, from being accessible by means of steam communication, are obviously the most eligible for the establishment of the description of immigrants you propose to introduce.

The Clarence, in common with all the other rivers on the east coast of New Holland, labours under the disadvantage of a bar entrance; but as the depth of water on it is seldom less than fourteen feet, it cannot be considered as presenting any obstacle to the navigation of the river, by steamers of even moderate power, however serious an impediment it might prove to sailing vessels of large tonnage. Outside the bar is a small bay formed by the south head, capable of affording shelter to vessels, in the event of there being any obstruction either from wind or tide, to their immediately pursuing their course up the river, which, once having gained an entrance, they can do with facility, it requiring but a very simple and easily attained knowledge, to render its navigation perfectly safe and practicable even by night; for up to the settlement which is situated about forty-five miles from its embouchure, it may be said to be almost devoid of hindrance of any description—rocks occurring but in two places, and these from being easily recognised, are consequently avoided without any difficulty. In depth it varies from three to five fathoms, its ave-

rage width exceeding half a-mile. If the term navigable be only applied to that portion of a river accessible to vessels capable of contending with the ocean, the navigation of the Clarence must be regarded as terminating at the Settlement, which, as I have already stated, is situated about forty-five miles from its mouth, though there is nothing whatever to prevent a small description of steamer from plying at least five-and-twenty miles higher up ; vessels being almost everywhere able throughout this entire distance to lie close alongside the shore—a circumstance of considerable advantage to the future residents on the banks of the river, as it would dispense with the necessity of their being obliged to have recourse to any particular locality for the purpose of shipping their commodities or receiving their supplies.

The country in the vicinity of the Clarence may be described in the neighbourhood of the Heads as wearing the aspect of low sandy downs, a peculiarity, however, which is confined to the coast. For a few miles higher up the river, it is succeeded by extensive swamps, the immediate borders of the stream being covered with a dense impervious brush ; and this continues to be its general character for the distance of about twenty miles inland, when it becomes more elevated, more open, and of an infinitely better description. After passing this point, it may be briefly characterized, for nearly thirty miles, as a series of thinly timbered flats, occasionally intersected by detached portions of the hills which form the basin of the Clarence, running down to the verge of the water ; a belt of brush (varying in width from one to four hundred yards) fringing the stream all the way up. As it is to these flats (so obviously intended by nature for the production of grain, and so favourably situated for its exportation) that the agriculturist would undoubtedly have recourse, I shall endeavour to convey an idea of their character. They are of various sizes ; many of them extending along the river for miles, the soil being a deep, dark alluvial deposit, on a substratum of clay, covered at top by a layer of vegetable decomposition, the accumulation of ages ; and so thinly timbered, that isolated acres may be found unencumbered by a single tree. The astonishing vegetation with which they are clothed is almost inconceivable, such indeed as I have never witnessed elsewhere, save in the equally favoured regions on the Richmond. It is impossible to imagine a country more worthy of having bestowed upon it the labour of the husbandman, or one more likely to remunerate him for his toil, than the localities to which I refer ; as they are remarkable not alone for the excellence of the land, but for being placed under a climate, than which, none can be more conducive to the process of vegetation. Of the brush land on their edges, I consider it almost unnecessary to speak, both because brush soil is universally known to be of the richest possible description, and because the expense of clearing it would be such as (for a considerable period) to render it unavailable to the recently established immi-

grant. It could not, however, be considered as a disadvantage, having a portion of brush-land attached to each farm, inasmuch as it would not only afford timber for building, but would yield a ready, and almost inexhaustible supply of fuel for domestic purposes, and by this means become gradually cleared. As it may be inferred (from my having stated that flats such as I describe occur at intervals along the banks of the river for nearly thirty miles) that no difficulty could be experienced in selecting eligible situations upon which to establish an agricultural population, it becomes necessary to explain, that though good land may be procured with facility, still (as the river continues salt for at least six months in the year to the distance of nearly seventy miles from its mouth) that, which is equally essential, good water, is not quite so abundant. Were it, however, my province to determine on such situations as were most eligible, those possessed of a fruitful soil, in proximity with a never-failing supply of good water, I should select an island situated about twelve miles below the Settlement, and two flats, one on the south side of the river, opposite the Settlement, the other on the north bank about twenty miles higher up. The probable area of the island may be about thirty square miles, the greater part of which is capable of being subdivided into farms, each possessing the advantage of being accessible to vessels. The Flats might be estimated to contain about 4000 acres each, and though the one last mentioned, can only be approached by boats, it enjoys the superiority of being washed by a constantly flowing stream of fresh water. I have been induced to name these three places, not because they are the only ones on the Clarence capable of answering the required purpose—for many others equally eligible might be selected without difficulty—but because you requested me to particularize such localities as I deemed most suitable.

The Richmond, as already stated, discharges itself into the ocean about forty miles to the northward of Shoal Bay, at a point where the coast lies quite exposed; and from this circumstance an attempt to pass the bar in unfavourable weather is attended with very considerable risk, as is indeed melancholily made manifest by the fact, that within the last three years not fewer than ten vessels have been lost in endeavouring to enter the river, the access to which is not only rendered hazardous by the depth of water on the bar occasionally shallowing from fourteen to seven feet, but, owing to the South Head being merely a low sandy beach, and the north side of the channel studded with rocks, no slight degree of danger is to be apprehended in the event of its blowing from the southward during the time a vessel is entering the stream. 'Tis, however, asserted by those more familiar with the subject than I am, that if the Richmond Bar be occasionally shallow, it is always very short, and that the other difficulties to which I have alluded would prove no impediment to a tolerably powerful steamer. The river, after passing the bar, though it is

much more narrow, more tortuous, and more frequently interrupted by islands than the Clarence, is notwithstanding quite accessible either to sailing or steam vessels to the distance of about fifty miles from its mouth; at which point it diverges into two different branches, one flowing from the north, the other from the west: and though both of these are navigable for about thirty miles, their average width is not more than one hundred and fifty yards. So exceedingly serpentine is the Richmond River throughout its entire course, that a vessel, after threading its mazes (as it is possible for it to do) for nearly eighty miles, finds itself at last not more than fifteen miles distant from that point, at which, leaving the ocean, it first entered upon its waters.

The description which I have given of the country in the vicinity of the Clarence, will, with little exception, be equally applicable to that on the banks of the Richmond; the only difference being that where I have employed the word Flat, in speaking of the former, I should use the epithet Plain, when alluding to the corresponding localities on the latter—a distinction to which their vastly greater size, and almost total exemption from timber, justly entitles them. Indeed so great is their extent, that the river flows through an almost perfectly level valley, (seldom less than twelve miles wide,) for at least forty miles; nature displaying an inexhaustible fertility in the soil adjacent to its course, though in proportion as you recede from its banks, the land becomes less rich, and vegetation assumes a less luxuriant aspect. A striking peculiarity in these plains arises from the circumstance, that although surrounded by trees of a hundred varieties, still, in surveying their vastness, the eye seeks in vain for even a single shrub upon which to rest; whether it be that nature has denied the germs of trees to these fertile localities, or whether they were once covered with forests subsequently destroyed, forms a question rather difficult to resolve; as the country on the banks of the Richmond is in general plentifully supplied with water, even below the point at which the river ceases to be fresh. It would be altogether absurd, my endeavouring to indicate any particular situation, as being more eligible than another; let it, therefore, suffice to say, (and I am sure I do not speak unadvisedly when I assert,) that there is a sufficiency of land of the most astonishingly fertile nature, in the valley of the Richmond, to afford ample scope for the entire surplus population of Britain, even without infringing to any injurious extent upon the rights of the Squatter.

The productions of every country in an agricultural point of view, (with the exception perhaps of the valley of the Nile, and a few others where irrigation is had recourse to,) depending not less on the climate, than on the quality of the soil, I conceive that an effort to describe the climate, throughout the district of Clarence River, will not be exceeding the limits of the information you require. An almost complete realization of Fenelon's conception, with reference to Calypso's isle, is exhibited in the

climate on the Clarence, as without any great degree of hyperbole, a perpetual spring may be said to prevail during the entire year ; for so mild are the seasons, that vegetation remains unchecked even in the midst of the so-called winter. Rain is abundant, so much so as to give rise to the opinion that the district is unsuited for pastoral purposes, at least so far as sheep are concerned. Frost is very unfrequent, and never intense. As may be inferred from its geographical position, the heat in summer is considerable, but an excess of two or three days is almost invariably succeeded by thunder showers, which for a time, cool and render invigorating the air, occasionally causing an extraordinarily rapid change of temperature, the thermometer having been frequently known to vary not less than forty degrees in the space of twelve hours. This sudden caprice of temperature is, however, not in the least creative of unhealthiness ; on the contrary, I am satisfied there is no part of New South Wales, however justly it may be famed for the salubrity of its climate, which is more conducive to the health of the human body than the district of Clarence River ; indeed most others must be confessed to yield to it in this respect, inasmuch as the never fading mantle of green, in which it is perpetually clothed, shields its inhabitants from those ophthalmic diseases so prevalent in other parts of the Colony. Were it necessary to adduce any corroboration of this truth, I need only refer to the unsuccessful effort of a medical practitioner to establish himself in the district ; who, though eminent both for professional talent and amenity of manner, was obliged to abandon the undertaking after a fruitless attempt, protracted for upwards of two years : his failure solely arising from the almost entire absence of disease ; as it cannot be imagined, that a population amounting to nearly a thousand souls, and possessed of one hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and thirty thousand cattle, would be unable sufficiently to remunerate him, were his services required.

Your having recently visited Moreton Bay, and of course made yourself familiar with the productive capabilities of that district, renders unnecessary my entering into an enumeration of the possible productions of this, which is in every respect so similar to it. As, however, the ultimate prospects of the immigrant, (wherever he may be placed,) will be, in some measure, proportionate to the prosperity of the neighbourhood in which he is situated, it may not be irrelevant adding my conviction, that in the event of the land being thrown open for sale on the banks of the Clarence, that river must speedily attain a position of very considerable importance ; as it will not be dependent alone upon the trade of the district with which it is connected, but all the northern part of New England will be obliged to have recourse to its waters, for the purpose of shipping their commodities and receiving their supplies. Even at present the wealth derivable from nearly three hundred thousand sheep, and forty thousand cattle, finds its way to Sydney through the medium of the Clarence ; and if it

be borne in mind that this trade, considerable as it certainly is, has been the growth of the last six years, what may not be anticipated from the future, under a revised system of administering Crown Lands? On the whole, a four years' residence in the district has confirmed me in the opinion, that no country ever came from the hands of its Creator more eminently qualified to be the abode of a thriving and numerous population, than the one of which I have been speaking; and in forming this estimate I have been uninfluenced either by prejudice, or by interest, being no way connected with it, save in that arising from my official capacity.

The third of the three navigable rivers in the territory of Cooksland, to the southward of Moreton Bay, is the Tweed. It was discovered by Mr. Oxley, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, in the year 1823; and the following account of the discovery is from the pen of John Uniacke, Esq., one of Mr. Oxley's party on the occasion:

"While running down for this place, [a small island off Point Danger, to which they were steering for shelter from a storm,] we perceived the mouth of a large river about a mile and a half to the northward, and next morning the master was despatched in the whale boat to ascertain the possibility of taking the vessel into it. The master reported that he had examined the entrance, and found two fathoms on the bar at low water, with deep water and secure anchorage farther in. As the river appeared to run from the southward, and parallel with the shore for some distance, it was agreed that the mate should go after breakfast with a boat into the river, until opposite where the vessel lay, when we were to join him by land, and proceed to the examination of the upper part of the river. * * The part of it where we found the boat extended over a large flat, being in many places above a mile broad, interspersed with numerous low mangrove islands, and very shallow except in the channel, where we found from nine to two fathoms water.

"The country on either side was very hilly and richly wooded, and the view altogether beautiful beyond description. Having wandered out of the channel, we with some difficulty proceeded about four miles, when the river assumed a different appearance, being contracted to a quarter of a mile in width, with five fathoms water all across; the banks also wore a different aspect, being free from mangroves; the soil seemed richer, and the timber evidently improved in size and quality. The scenery here exceeded anything I had previously seen in Australia—extending for miles along a deep rich valley, clothed with magnificent trees, the beautiful uniformity of which was only interrupted by

the turns and windings of the river, which here and there appeared like small lakes, while in the back ground Mount Warning (the highest land in New South Wales) reared its barren and singularly shaped peak, forming a striking contrast with the richness of the intermediate scenery.

"It was now agreed that the mate and crew should remain with the boat in the river, where we had joined them, all night, and that Mr. Oxley and I should return on board to sleep, and come back with Mr. Stirling at daylight. However, just as we were preparing to land, the wind suddenly shifted to the south-west, and as it seemed likely to continue steady in that point, Mr. Oxley thought it imprudent to lose the advantage of it, and therefore deferred exploring the river further till our return. The signal was accordingly made for the boat to return on board, and all hands were employed in getting the vessel under way. The little island under which we lay received the name of Turtle Island, in gratitude for the abundant supply of that fish we procured from it. We also gave the name of the "Tweed" to the river. The latitude of our anchorage is $28^{\circ} 8' S.$, and its longitude $153^{\circ} 31' 30'' East.$ "*

This river was visited and still further explored, in the year 1828, by the Honourable Captain Rous, R.N., whose account of it, published at the time in the late Australian Quarterly Journal, is as follows:

"The river Tweed, discovered by Mr. Oxley, but not explored, is in Lat. $28^{\circ} 9'$ Long. $153^{\circ} 34'$, bearing N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from Turtle Island, distant $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It is situated to the southward of a bluff-head, connected with the main by a flat sandy isthmus, 250 yards wide from high-water-mark, forming a boundary to the river on the one side, and to a capacious bay to the northward, affording good anchorage and shelter from east southerly to north. The entrance to the river is about 100 yards wide, ten feet on the bar at high water, the channel being the deepest on the north shore. Six feet rise of tide, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet abreast the isthmus, decreasing gradually as you ascend the river. Having passed the bar you deepen to 15 feet, and the river branches off in two channels, one S.E. by S., the other, winding round two sand banks to the westward, rejoins the main body, where an arm strikes off to the W.S.W. about seven miles, terminating in mangrove

* Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition to survey Port Curtis, &c., by John Uniacke, Esq., contained in Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales. By various hands. Edited by Barron Field, Esq., late Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. London, 1825.

swamps and a shallow lagoon. The river then flowing from S.S.E. to W.S.W., is navigable for loaded boats about 30 miles, the average depth at high water being 9 feet. It then separates to N.W., where the navigation is stopped by a narrow gravel bank dry at low water ; and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the S.W. it is impeded by an island with a shallow passage on each side, choked with dead timber. In both arms the water again deepens, after passing these obstacles. The banks are generally very high on rocky foundations, covered with thick forest,—Moreton pines, cedar, fig-trees, palms, and a variety of gum trees, in many places impenetrable from the thick foliage of the native vines. The adjacent country ranges of thickly wooded hills are backed to the west and S.W. by lofty mountains. Mount Warning is very conspicuous—S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. (compass bearing) at least 20 miles farther inland than the place allotted to it in the maps ; under whose base, it is probable that this river derives its source.

The Clarence is 380 miles from Sydney ; the Richmond 420 ; and the Tweed 465 ; while the Tweed is only 60 miles distant from the northern entrance of Moreton Bay, and the spot I have indicated for the future commercial capital of Cooksland ; the Richmond 100, and the Clarence 140. It is evident, therefore, that it would be incomparably more conducive to the convenience, the comfort, and the benefit of the future population of these three rivers, which, there is every reason to believe, will at no distant period be very numerous, to be bound up, so to speak, in one volume with the community of Moreton Bay, than with that of Sydney. Small steam-boats, of 100 tons or thereby, could ply between the northern capital and each of these rivers, with the same facility as the passage is now made by such steam-boats between Sydney and Hunter's River ; performing the ocean part of the voyage during the night, and running up and down the rivers during the day. But the voyage to Sydney would be a serious affair, and would not be thought of but on occasions of great emergency. There is another consideration, however, of still greater importance, in such a question, than mere distance. The coast, for nearly three hundred miles of the whole distance to Sydney from the Clarence River, is an iron-bound coast, presenting no place of refuge, no available harbour in

cases of distress, as from a violent gale blowing *dead in* upon the land. In such cases the unfortunate vessel must either keep the sea at all hazards, or be wrecked. But there is much less reason to apprehend being caught in such gales on the comparatively shorter voyages between these three rivers and the northern capital; besides, there is safe anchorage under Cape Byron, close to the entrance of the Richmond River, and also under Turtle Island, close to the entrance of the Tweed.

The reader may perhaps suppose that I have argued this point more minutely and at greater length than the case requires; but as the most determined opposition was shewn very recently in New South Wales, both in the Legislative Council of that colony and out of it, to the separation of Port Phillip, although every consideration both of reason and justice was strongly in favour of that measure, I deemed it advisable to set the case in its proper light from the first, as I anticipate precisely the same opposition in the same quarters to any attempt, however accordant with reason and justice, to separate the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed Rivers from that colony, and to constitute the territory of Cooksland a separate and independent colony.

CHAPTER III.

THE BRISBANE RIVER.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet ; ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
 Bacca Venafro ;
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
 Invidet uvis.

HORAT. OD. II. 6.

Fair land ! where smiling Summer reigns
 Throughout the livelong year,
Nor gloomy Winter's shivering trains
 Of frosts and snows appear ;
Hymettian sweets, Falernian wine,
Were not to be compared with thine.

HORACE IN AUSTRALIA.

ON his return to Sydney from his examination of Port Curtis, and his discovery of the Boyne River, in the month of November 1823, Mr. Surveyor-General Oxley anchored in Bribie's Island Passage, the Pumice-Stone River of Captain Flinders. "Scarcely was the anchor let go," observes his fellow-traveller, Mr. Uniacke, "when we perceived a number of natives, at the distance of about a mile, advancing rapidly towards the vessel; and on looking at them with the glass from the mast-head, I observed one who appeared much larger than the rest, and of a lighter colour, being a

light copper, while all the others were black. This I pointed out to Mr. Stirling, so that we were all on the look-out when they approached; and to our surprise and satisfaction, when opposite the vessel, the man hailed us in English. The boat was immediately launched, and Messrs. Oxley, Stirling, and I went ashore in her. While approaching the beach, the natives shewed many signs of joy, dancing and embracing the white man, who was nearly as wild as they. He was perfectly naked, and covered all over with white and red paint, which the natives make use of. His name, it appears, was Thomas Pamphlet: he had left Sydney on the 21st March last in an open boat, to bring cedar from the Five Islands, about fifty miles to the south of Port Jackson. There were three others with him; but the boat being driven out to sea by a gale of wind, they had suffered inconceivable hardships, being twenty-one days without water, during which time one of them died of thirst, and they had at length been wrecked on Moreton Island, which forms one side of Moreton Bay, in the upper part of which we were now lying. He was so bewildered with joy that we could make very little out of his story that night; so having distributed a few knives, handkerchiefs, &c., among the friendly blacks, we returned on board, taking him with us. He now informed us, that his two surviving companions, Richard Parsons and John Finnegan, after having travelled in company with him to the place where we found him, had, about six weeks before, resolved to prosecute their way towards Sydney; that he had accompanied them about fifty miles, but that his feet becoming so sore that he was unable to travel further, he had resolved to return to the blacks, with whom we found him, and who had before treated him with great kindness; that a few days after they parted, Parsons and Finnegan having quarrelled, the latter also returned, and had since remained with him, but had been absent the last fortnight with the chief of the tribe on a hunting expedition, and that Parsons had not been heard of since his departure. Mr. Oxley,

on hearing that Finnegan was gone towards the south end of the bay, resolved to seek him on Monday morning, and hoped, by keeping along the shore, and occasionally firing a musket, to be able to find him. But on Sunday afternoon, at low water, a man was observed walking out on a sand-bank, from the opposite shore towards us, and holding in his hand a long stick with a skin on it; upon which, I took the whale-boat and pulled towards him, when it proved to be Finnegan. *Both he and Pamphlet concurring in a story they told us of A LARGE RIVER which they had crossed, falling into the south-end of the Bay, Messrs. Oxley and Stirling started next morning in the whale-boat, taking Finnegan with them, and four days' provisions, in order to explore it.**

It was scarcely fair in Mr. Oxley to take no notice of this very important fact, in the following account of his discovery, forsooth, of the Brisbane River, contained in his Report to His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane. It was in reality not Mr. Oxley, but these two poor unfortunate shipwrecked men who discovered it, and reported *their* discovery to him. He only verified that report, and followed it up. But Mr. O. is not the only geographical explorer in Australia who,

Turk-like, could bear no brother near the throne.

It seems to be a family-failing.

“ I sailed from this port (Sydney) in His Majesty's cutter *Mermaid*, on the 23rd of October, 1823; and early on the 2nd day of December following, when examining Moreton Bay, we had the satisfaction to find the tide sweeping us up a considerable inlet between the first mangrove island and the mainland. The mudiness and taste of the water, together with the abundance of fresh water mulluscæ, assured us we were entering a large river; and a few hours ended our anxiety on that point, by the water becoming perfectly fresh, while no diminution had taken place in the size of the river after passing what I called *Sea Reach*.

“ Our progress up the river was necessarily retarded by the necessity we were under of making a running survey during our

* Uniacke's Observations, *ubi supra*.

passage. At sunset we had proceeded about twenty miles up the river. The scenery was peculiarly beautiful; the country along the banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded; the soil of the finest description of brushwood-land, on which grew timber of great magnitude and of various species, some of which were unknown to us. Among others, a magnificent species of pine was in great abundance. The timber on the hills was also good; and to the southeast, a little distance from the river, were several brushes or forests of the *cupressus australis*, of a very large size.

“Up to this point the river was navigable for vessels not drawing more than sixteen feet water. The tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance. The next day the examination was resumed, and with increased satisfaction. We proceeded about thirty miles farther, no diminution having taken place either in the breadth or depth of the river, excepting in one place for the extent of about thirty yards, where a ridge of detached rocks extended across, having not more than twelve feet on them at high water. From this point to *Termination Hill*, the river continued of nearly uniform size. The country on either side is of a very superior description, and equally well adapted for cultivation or grazing; the timber being abundant, and fit for all the purposes of domestic use or exportation. The pine-trees, if they should prove of good quality, were of a scantling sufficient for the topmasts of large ships. Some measured upwards of thirty inches in diameter, and from fifty to eighty feet without a branch.

“The boat's crew were so exhausted by their continued exertions under a vertical sun, that I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish my intention of proceeding to the termination of tide-water at this time. At this place the tide rose but four feet six inches, the force of the ebb-tide and current together being little greater than the flood-tide,—a proof of its flowing through a very level country. Having concluded on terminating at this point the examination of the river—being seventy miles from the vessel, and our stock of provisions expended, not having anticipated such a discovery—I landed on the south shore for the purpose of examining the surrounding country. On ascending a low hill, rising about twenty-five feet above the level of the river, we saw a distant mountain, which I conjectured to be the *High Peak* of Captain Flinders, bearing south $1\frac{1}{2}$ east, distant from twenty-five to thirty miles. Round from this point to the north-west the country declined considerably in elevation, and had much the appearance of extended plains and low undulating hills, well, but not heavily, wooded. The only elevations of magnitude were some hills seven or eight hundred feet high, which we had passed to the northward. The appearance and formation of the country, the slowness of the current, even at ebb tide, and the depth of the water, induced me to conclude that the river would be found navigable for vessels of burden to a much greater distance, probably not less than fifty miles. There was no appearance of the river being ever flooded, no mark being found more than seven

feet above the level of the water, which is little more than would be caused by flood tide at high water forcing back any accumulation of water in rainy seasons.

“A consideration of all the circumstances connected with the appearance of the river justified me in entertaining a strong belief that the sources of this river will not be found in a mountainous country. Most probably it issues from some large collection of interior waters, the reservoir of those streams crossed by me during an expedition of discovery in 1818, and which had a northerly course. Whatever may be its origin, it is by far the largest fresh-water river on the east coast of New South Wales, and promises to be of the utmost importance to the colony ; as, besides affording a water communication with the southern country bounding upon Liverpool Plains, *it waters a vast extent of country, of which a great portion appears to me capable of supporting the culture of the richest productions of the tropics.* I afterwards proceeded a few miles to the south-east from the river, through a gently broken country of good soil, declining in elevation towards the south ; the high peak before mentioned being the only remarkable eminence from north-east to south.

“As the position of the entrance of the river was still to be fixed, and the channel to be examined, I lost no time in returning down the river with the ebb-tide, and stopped for the night at the base of the Green Hills ; the highest of which was ascended the next morning, and the view from it was found more extensive than I anticipated.

“So much time was spent in the examination of the country above Sea Reach, that it was quite dark when we got to the entrance of the river ; which, out of respect to His Excellency the Governor, under whose orders the bay was examined, was now honoured with the name of *Brisbane River*. The whole of the next day was spent in sounding the entrance and traversing the country in the vicinity of Red Cliff Point, and we did not reach the vessel until late in the night of the fifth of December, amply gratified in the discovery of this important river, as we sanguinely anticipated the most beneficial consequences as likely to result to the colony by the formation of a settlement on its banks.”

In the year 1824 a Penal Settlement, for the safe custody and coercion of Convicts found guilty of crimes punishable with transportation in the colony, was formed at Moreton Bay ; of which the head quarters were originally fixed in the bay to the northward of the Brisbane, but afterwards at Brisbane town, on an elevated ridge on the left bank of the river, about twenty-five miles from its mouth. The buildings at the original settlement being left standing when the place was abandoned, the black natives, whose nomenclature is

always distinctive and appropriate—not like that of the Colonial Office—call it Umpie Bong, the “Dead Houses,” or “Deserted Village.”

Towards the close of the year 1825, Major Lockyer, of H. M. 57th Regiment, ascended the Brisbane River, with a small party of soldiers and convicts, in a whale-boat and cutter, and found it navigable for such boats for upwards of 150 miles from its mouth, although the upper part of its course was frequently characterized by rapids, and much encumbered with fallen timber. For the last fifty miles of that distance, however, Major Lockyer had mistaken a mere tributary, which had been considerably swollen at the time by previous rains to the westward, for the principal stream; for at a point where the river makes a sudden bend to the northward, in going up the stream, and receives a large creek or tributary from the westward in the direction of its previous course, the Major unconsciously left the main river, and followed up the creek, which has since been called Lockyer's Creek. Considerably higher up, the Brisbane receives a second creek or tributary from the north-westward, called Stanley Creek; the main stream rising in a ridge of mountains running east and west, at right angles to the line of the coast-range, and dividing the sources of the Brisbane on the south from those of the Wide Bay river on the north.

As it is my desire in this volume rather to submit to the reader the testimonies of men of character and standing of all classes and professions, in regard to the physical character and capabilities of the extensive and important region which forms the subject of this work, than to amuse him with my own speculations, I shall here subjoin a few extracts from the rough notes of the gallant Major:—

“The country,” he observes, “on both banks of the river was very fine, with a very rich alluvial soil, and the whole on both sides, all the way up from the Settlement, quite fit for the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, maize, fruit, vegetables—grapes particularly—as also cotton, coffee and rice, with sugar cane, might with common exertion be produced in the greatest abundance. Very fine fish, including a great quantity of very large

eels, were caught by the party. The trees on the banks were chiefly the Indian fig-tree, the Moreton Bay pine, the blue gum, the swamp oak, iron bark, cedar, honey suckle, mimosa, with beautiful yellow flowers and quite odoriferous." And again, still higher up, "Nothing can possibly exceed the fine rich country we are now in."

In the course of his voyage up the river, a large creek or tributary stream, called by Mr. Oxley the Bremer River, was observed entering the river from the westward. On his return he observes, "Took one of the boats, and went up this branch above three miles; then landed, and on ascending the banks, found a large open country with scarcely any wood of consequence to impede cultivation on it—the trees chiefly blue-gums, being at least an acre or more apart, and more ornamental than otherwise. The natives had lately set fire to the long grass, and the new grass was just above ground, making this plain appear like a bowling-green; the soil, rich beyond any idea, and from its being easily flooded, it would be particularly adapted for the cultivation of rice, sugarcane, cotton and coffee. I saw plenty of kangaroos and wild turkeys. After traversing this fine piece of land, which was at least six or seven thousand acres in extent, I returned to our encampment."

"The obstructions in the river might be easily removed, which no doubt must prove of considerable importance—the fine timber growing on its banks is fit for every purpose, particularly ship-building. Moreton Bay is well calculated to become a place of trade when once settled."

"The Bay abounds with excellent fish of every description, as well as wild-fowl in great numbers. There are many rivers running into it, and they abound with the finest timber that has hitherto been found in New South Wales. It would be well that the Government would direct their attention to this valuable article, as there can be no doubt it will become one of great export, as also for Colonial purposes for ship-building, &c. The pine, which is in such abundance at Moreton Bay, is well adapted for masts—spars of every denomination, as also being excellent for oars; all these would find ready sale in India, as well as being a most valuable article in the Colony."

"Beat down to Peel's Island—went on shore and found it well wooded; some part of it good soil, the remainder sandy. On removing it from the surface, found a good clay soil below; in the middle of the island is a lagoon of excellent fresh water—the island is from twelve to fifteen miles in circumference."

I cannot take leave of Major Lockyer without adding, from his rough notes, the following incident which does equal honour to both parties concerned:—

"Quitted Moreton Bay at 9 o'clock, P.M., with a land breeze, leaving our friends, the natives, sitting on the shore at Amity

Point, watching the vessel until she sunk in the horizon from their view. The attachment of these people to their dogs is worthy of notice ; I was very anxious to get one of the wild native breed of a black colour, a very handsome puppy, which one of the men had in his arms. I offered a small axe for it ; his companion urged him to take it, and he was about to do so, when *he looked at his dog, and the animal licked his face, which settled the business ; he shook his head, determined to keep it.* I tried him afterwards with handkerchiefs of glaring colours, and other things, but *it would not do—he would not part with his dog. I gave him, however, the axe and the handkerchief.**

In the year 1827, a discovery was effected in the interior of the Moreton Bay District, of the utmost importance to that part of the territory, by the late Alan Cunningham, Esq., Botanical Collector for the Royal Gardens at Kew, a gentleman of superior ability and of indefatigable zeal in the department of Geographical discovery. The journey, in the course of which it was effected, had been suggested by Mr. Oxley, who was then unfortunately sinking into the grave ; and on the 30th of April, of that year, Mr. Cunningham accordingly started for the northern interior, from a station in Upper Hunter's River, with an equipment of six servants and eleven horses. Crossing the Dividing Range to the westward, in that part of the territory, at an elevation of 3080 feet above the level of the sea, he skirted along the extensive tract called Liverpool Plains, to the eastward, at an elevation of 840 feet, through an uninteresting forest country. In latitude $31^{\circ} 2'$, he crossed Mr. Oxley's track on his journey from the Western Interior to Port Macquarie, in the year 1818, and stood northward, on the meridian of $150\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ East. About forty miles to the northward of this point, the country had gradually risen to the level of 1900 feet above the sea, and on crossing the parallel of 30° S., after passing through a gloomy and worthless country, Mr. Cunningham descended to "a beautiful and well-

* Journal of an Excursion to Moreton Bay, and up the River Brisbane in the year 1825, by Edmund Lockyer, Esq., J.P., late Major in H. M. 57th Regiment, from Wilton's Australian Quarterly Journal for July and October, 1828.

watered valley, affording abundance of the richest pasturage, and bounded on either side by a bold and elevated rocky range." This valley terminated at length sixteen miles farther north, on the left bank of a considerable stream flowing north-west, in latitude $29^{\circ} 51'$ S., at an elevation of 911 feet above the sea. This stream Mr. Cunningham named the Gwydir. Proceeding northward between the meridians of 150° and 151° East, and passing through rather an indifferent country, the scene was found gradually to improve, and in latitude 29° S. longitude $150^{\circ} 40'$ E., he came upon the Dumaresq River, running westward, 80 or 90 yards wide, and very deep, at an elevation of 840 feet above the sea, and 170 miles from the coast. Traveling from thence northward and eastward 80 miles, through an arid country, to 151° E., he at length discovered a beautiful tract of country, at an elevation of 900 or 1000 feet above that of the Dumaresq River, which he called the "Darling Downs," to the westward of the coast-range, in the District of Moreton Bay.

"These extensive tracts of clear pastoral country," observes Mr. Cunningham, "commence about the parallel of 28° S., and stretch to 152° E. Deep ponds, supported by streams from the highlands immediately to the eastward, extend along their central lower flats. The lower grounds thus permanently watered, present flats which furnish an almost inexhaustible range of cattle pasture at all seasons of the year—the grass and herbage generally exhibiting in the depth of winter, an extreme luxuriance of growth. From these central grounds rise downs of a rich, black, and dry soil, and very ample surface; and as they furnish abundance of grass, and are conveniently watered, yet perfectly beyond the reach of those floods which take place on the flats in a season of rain, they constitute a valuable and sound sheep pasture. We soon reached the base of some hills connected laterally with that stupendous chain of mountains, the bold outline of which we had beheld with so much interest during the three preceding days. These hills we found clothed from their foot upwards with an underwood of the densest description; in the midst of which, and especially on the ridges, appeared a pine which I immediately discovered to be the same species as that observed in 1824 on the Brisbane River. Encamped, I ascended a remarkably square-topped mountain, which formed the western termination of one of these ridges, and from its summit had a very ex-

tensive view of the country lying between N. and S. Towards the W.N.W. and N.N.W., we observed a succession of heavily timbered ridges, extending laterally from the more elevated chain of mountains immediately to the east, which evidently forms the main dividing range in this part of the country, whilst from north-west to W., and thence to S., within a range of twenty miles, a most beautifully diversified landscape, made up of hill and dale, woodland and plain, appeared before us.

"In a valley which led to the immediate base of the mountain barrier, I fixed my northernmost encampment, determined, as I had not the means of advancing further, in consequence of the state of my provisions, and the low condition of my horses, to employ a short period in a particular examination of the principal range, to the western base of which we had penetrated from the southward, through a considerable portion of barren interior. In exploring the mountains immediately above our tents, with a view more especially of ascertaining how far a passage could be effected over them to the shores of Moreton Bay, a remarkably excavated part of the main range was discovered, which appeared likely to prove a very practicable passage through these mountains from the eastward. Its more particular examination, however, I left to the period of a visit by sea to Moreton Bay, which I had already contemplated, and which I was enabled to effect in the course of the succeeding year. * * *

"The mean height of the spot above the level of the sea was 1875 feet, and its distance from the Penal Settlement on the Brisbane River, which bore about north-east from us, was estimated at about 75 miles.

"My report to the Colonial Government of this journey, of the spacious downs we had discovered in latitude 28° S., and the considerable tract of very indifferent country, in part actually desert, that lay between the Colony and those extensive pasture lands, immediately suggested the importance of examining the space between these downs and the sea-coast at Moreton Bay; since, should the gap which had been discovered in the main dividing range, in the above parallel, prove on actual survey to admit of a passage through that chain of mountains, the readiest point of access to the very desirable country on their western side would be from the shores of Moreton Bay and Brisbane River, on the banks of the latter of which a Penal Settlement had already been established for several years. This inquiry became the object of my voyage from Port Jackson the following year, and its results proved every way most satisfactory to the Colonial Government, and the colony generally." *

* *Brief View of the Progress of Interior Discovery in New South Wales.* Communicated by Alan Cunningham, Esq. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ii. p. 113-117.

In an article on this journey which he communicated to a Colonial Journal in the year 1828, Mr. Cunningham adds the following particulars :—

“ The elevation of the dividing range above the level of the ocean, may be considered about 4100 feet. The forest ridges, which were heavily timbered with stringy-bark of great bulk, were found clothed to their summits with grasses of the most luxuriant growth ; and being well watered by numerous trickling rills that appeared to originate between the shoulders of the hills, constitute a very spacious range of the richest cattle pasture.

“ The summits and flanks of the ranges produce great abundance of well-grown stringy bark, whilst their lower ridges furnish stately pine of the species already well known on the Brisbane, from 60 to 80 feet in height ; and as small saplings of the red cedar were observed on the skirts of the brushes that invest the base of the hills, large trees of this valuable wood are doubtless to be met with in their more distant recesses.

“ The base of these mountains is of a compact whinstone ; on the higher ridges was observed amygdaloid, or the trap formation, with nodules of quartz, whilst the summit exhibited a porphyritic rock, very porous, and containing numerous minute quartzose chrySTALLIZATIONS.”*

In the course of his journey to explore the Moreton Bay country, to the eastward of the Coast Range, in the year 1828, Mr. Cunningham made an unsuccessful attempt, along with Captain Logan, the Commandant, to reach the Gap which he had discovered from the western side of the Coast Range during the preceding year, by the Logan River and Mount Lindsay, the summit of which he ascertained to be 5703 feet above the level of the sea. He was more fortunate, however, in a second attempt which he made alone, from Limestone or Ipswich, on the Bremer River, the particulars of which are contained in a letter which he addressed to His Excellency Lieutenant-General Darling, Governor of New South Wales, of date “ Parramatta, 16th December 1828,” of which the following is an extract :—

“ As I shall have frequent occasion to refer to this station (Limestone) in what I have further the honour to communicate

* Australian Quarterly Journal for April 1828.

for your Excellency's necessary information, I take leave to make a few brief observations on its situation and general productions.

"In the course of last year, Captain Logan, in tracing the Bremer (of the late Mr. Oxley, who merely passed its mouth in 1824) from its junction with the Brisbane, discovered, at ten miles through its many windings from that point, the calcareous hummocks on its right bank now named the 'Limestone Hills.'

"Landing, he was much struck with the singular appearance of the lofty Xanthorrhææ, or Grasstree, which abound on the open flats, low hills, and forest grounds, at this particular part, and which the Commandant had not inaptly compared to beehives elevated on stools.

"Some months after this discovery a kiln was built, and a party of convicts, consisting of an overseer (acquainted with the operations of sapping and mining) and five men, were stationed at these hills to commence lime-burning. It was not long before the station was visited by the wandering Aborigines, who, after threatening the lives of the white men, seized the first opportunity to run off with their tools. To protect the limeburners from further molestation from these savages, a corporal and three privates were stationed on the spot, and from that period no natives have ventured to approach the huts of either soldiers or people, although they have been repeatedly seen prowling through the adjacent woods.

"From 300 to 350 bushels of excellent lime (I was informed) are burnt weekly at this station, which is regularly conveyed down by boats to Brisbane Town, and there used in the buildings in progress. The limestone of Bremer's River is very different in its appearance from the calcareous rocks of Argyle, Bathurst, or Wellington Valley. From these it differs not simply in colour, which is either yellowish brown or brownish white, but also in its quality—it containing much earthy matter, without impressions of shells, &c., or organic remains.

As far as the hills have been opened, no stratification has been observed; on the contrary, it appeared in irregular masses mixed with reddish earth, and large blocks of a blackish flint. In some specimens of the latter rock, which I caused to be broken, I found beautiful specimens of chalcedony, containing cavities filled with groups of minute crystallized quartz.

"Chalk is also found among the hills, in which are nodules of flint. A stratum or seam of coal has been observed on the Bremer, both immediately above and below the station; and as that mineral was noticed three or four miles to the north, on the steep banks of dry creeks dipping to the Brisbane, and again in another mile in the bed of that river, it is highly probable that the seam extends nearly horizontally throughout. The soil of these hills and adjacent country is of a black colour; and, if one might judge from the luxuriant growth of vegetables, cultivated in a small patch of garden ground belonging to the soldiers, is of

a rich quality. The flats and undulated grounds are well clothed with grasses, and as they are not, under any circumstance of season, other than of a dry character, they form a sound range of sheep pasture at present supporting a small flock belonging to Government."

Mr. Cunningham started from Limestone Hills on the 18th of August 1828; but as the route he pursued towards the Pass appears to have been somewhat different from the one now generally made use of by the settlers at Moreton Bay, it will not be necessary to follow him along that route, although the description he gives of the intermediate country would be interesting to the grazier. On the 24th of August we find him encamped in lat. $27^{\circ} 55'$ and long. $152^{\circ} 27'$, only a few miles from the entrance of the Gap, where he resumes his narrative as follows:—

"Among the brushes that overshadowed the creek on which we were encamped grew most luxuriantly the native *Bignonia* and a fine *Clematis*; and, being intertwined and abundantly in flower, they formed the richest festoons.

"The grasses are chiefly those of the colony; the richer flats and alluvial grounds being adorned with that blooming vetch called by botanists, *Swainsona*, with *Lotus Australis*, or Bird's-foot trefoil, as also a *Geranium* and a *Senecio*, frequent in the Bathurst country. The collections of dried plants that were formed were therefore detected in the barren rocky ridges and stony mountains that lay in the way of our expedition.

"In this place I shall merely notice the singular association of our common *Eucalypti* with the tree of a genus whose splendid scarlet flowers render it very conspicuous among even the more brilliant subjects of the Flora of intertropical countries. The tree I allude to is a species of *Erythrina*, or coral tree, which I first observed in an excursion to the foot of Flinders' Peak. Under the Dividing Range I frequently met with it, in a forest of blighted uncromely iron-bark, forming a tree 35 feet high, with a smooth trunk, but thorny branches, and during the winter months without leaves.

"About one o'clock we passed a mile to the southward of our last position, and, entering a valley, we pitched the tents within three miles of the entrance of the Gap, now suspected to be the Pass of last year's journey.

"It being early in the afternoon, I sent one of my people (who, having been of my party on that long tour, knew well the features of the country lying to the westward of the Dividing Range) to trace a series of forest ridges, which appeared to lead directly up to the foot of the hollow back of the range.

"To my utmost gratification he returned at dusk, having traced the ridge about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the foot of the Dividing Range, whence he ascended into the Pass, and, from a grassy head immediately above it, beheld the extensive country lying west of the Main Range. He recognised Darling and Canning Downs, patches of Peel's Plains, and several remarkable points of the forest hills on that side, fully identifying this hollow-back with the Pass discovered last year, at the head of Miller's Valley, notwithstanding its very different appearance when viewed from the Eastern Country.

"Resting my oxen on the 25th, I determined to occupy the whole of the day in the examination of this very important passage from the coast land, through a formidable main range of mountains, to a vast and, for the most part, undefined extent of pastoral country on their western side.

"Accompanied by my servant, with an odometer or measuring wheel, we commenced our interesting labours of the day at 7 A.M.

"From the valley in which we were encamped, we immediately ascended a low forest ridge at south, bending S.S.W. and S.W. throughout the first mile and a half. The acclivity proved most gradual, and the surface of the ridge, although occasionally rather rugged, was rendered so by small fragments of rock, easy to be removed. Continuing to trace the leading ridge, we formed an ample passage between detached masses of sandstone, which were covered with parasites (of Ferns, or *Dendrobia*, or *Rock-lilies*) of species heretofore only found within the tropical circle.

"In another half mile, the ridge takes a decided bend to the westward, and, its surface becoming wide, presented an open patch of forest ground, timbered chiefly with oak and apple-tree, in quantity sufficient for a small farm. The ridge at length narrows again, but the acclivity continues most progressive. Patches of brush now clothe the sides of the ridge, as also the gulleys falling from it, leaving its back clear of wood, open and grassy.

"At about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles the ridge bends to the northward of west, and immediately the summit of the Pass appeared broad before us, bounded on each side by most stupendous Heads, towering at least 2000 feet above it.*

"Here the difficulties of the Passage commenced. We had now penetrated to the actual foot of the Pass without the smallest difficulty; it now remained to ascend by a steep slope to the level

* I had at the time great pleasure in giving names to these very elevated points of the Dividing Range, which are very distinctly seen over 54 miles of wooded country from Brisbane Town.

The South Head, which forms a long-backed mount, with a lofty point at each extremity, I have named Mount Mitchell, in honour of the Surveyor-General of the Territory; whilst the North Head was entitled Mount Cordeaux, as a compliment to Wm. Cordeaux, Esq., of the Surveyor-General's Department.

of its entrance. This slope is occupied by a very close wood, in which red cedar, sas-safras, palms, and other ornamental inter-tropical trees are frequent. Through this *shaded wood* we penetrated, climbing up a steep bank of very rich loose earth, in which large fragments of a very compact rock (a whin-stone) are imbedded. At length we gained the foot of a wall of bare rock, which we found stretching from the southward into the Pass.

"This face of naked rock we perceived (by tracing its base northerly) gradually to fall to the common level, so that, without the smallest difficulty and to my utmost surprise, we found ourselves in the highest part of the Pass, having fully ascertained the extent of the difficult part, from the entrance into the wood to this point, not to exceed 400 yards. We now pushed our way westerly through this extraordinary defile, and in less than half-a-mile of level surface clothed with a thick brush of plants common to the Brisbane River, reached the opposite side of the Main Range, where I observed the waters fell westerly to Miller's Valley beneath us.

"Climbing the northern summit of Mount Mitchell, which bounds the Pass on the south, it was with no small pleasure that I passed my eye over the beautiful tract of country at which my labours of last year had closed.

"Portions of Canning and Darling Downs, with patches of Peel's Plains, were distinctly recognised at distances of 20 and 30 miles. The entrance to Logan Vale, indicated by the table-topped hill named last year, Mount Sturt, was also observed, as was the forest ridge over-hanging that rich valley, beneath which my tent stood several days at that period. My elevated situation on Mount Mitchell enabled me to take bearings to points whose positions are fixed, as well on the western as on the eastern sides of the Barrier Range, and thus most satisfactorily affording me the amplest materials to connect on the map of the country the northern points of my last year's journey with the Penal Settlement on the Brisbane River. The day was considerably advanced by the time we had effected these truly interesting observations; we therefore descended to the Pass, and making the best of our way along the eastern forest ridge, reached the encampment about eight o'clock, having been occupied in severe exercise above thirteen hours.

This passage through the Dividing Range is geographically situated in latitude $28^{\circ} 2' 40''$ S., and longitude $152^{\circ} 24' 20''$ E., and lies S.W. from Brisbane Town fifty-four miles, being also in direct distance from the sea-coast, near Point Danger of Captain Cook, about sixty-four geographical miles.

"The weather had favoured our operations throughout the whole of the day, but we had scarcely been seated within our tents half an-hour, before the sky became overcast, and heavy clouds passing over us to the eastward, in a rapid succession, pre-saged the storm that was gathering in and beyond the heights

above us. I had timely taken the precaution to direct the securing of the tents by extra guys, and therefore felt fully prepared to meet the impending tempest. The thunder (which the otherwise stillness of these solitudes had allowed us to hear in the distance) at length approached in rolling peals, and accompanied by the most vivid lightning, and a deluging rain, commenced a storm as awful, at the same time as grand, as any that are to be witnessed in elevated intertropical countries. With unabated violence, the tempest continued until after midnight, when, as if suddenly exhausted, the wind moderated, the clouds broke, gradually sinking down towards the horizon, and a bright moon just past the full, now burst forth, with many a brilliant star, to assure us, by affording us light to observe the extreme pinnacles of the mountains perfectly divested of clouds, that at length calm, serene, and settled weather was again restored to us. During the whole of this thunder storm, the temperature of the atmosphere continued without variation. The thermometer stood at 64°."

On his route back to Limestone Plains the following day, Mr. Cunningham discovered and crossed a small plain, of nearly a square form, and of a mile and a-half across, of which he thus writes. It appears to be a part of Normanby Plains, which extend to 50,000 acres :—

" Nothing can possibly exceed the richness and mellowness of its fine black soil, and certainly there is not in any explored part of New South Wales a more beautiful subject for the pencil of the artist, than the landscape presented to the traveller from the centre of Bainbrigge Plain, to which no description of mine can possibly do justice.

" Bremer's River, which at its mouth is about 40 yards wide, presents an uniformity of breadth of 30 or 35 yards throughout its tortuous course of ten miles to the Limestone Station, which point may be considered the head of the navigation, for almost immediately beyond, ledges of rocks occupy the bed of the river, which at length rise and separate the fresh water from the salt."*

It here expands and forms a natural basin of upwards of 100 yards in width.

The Darling Downs, it is now ascertained, are about a hundred and twenty miles in length, from north to south, with an average breadth of fifty miles, having

* Manuscript Report to His Excellency General Darling, in the Archives of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, New South Wales.

the thickly wooded coast-range, supplying them with timber for all purposes, and streams of water, as their eastern boundary, and the Condamine River, pursuing a northerly course, as their boundary to the west; the country for some distance to the westward of that river being of an inferior quality, and not available for the purposes of man. Sir Thomas Mitchell, however, who has been recently *out* on an exploratory expedition to the northward and westward, has discovered a very superior tract of country of vast extent, in that direction, beyond the Darling River, into which the Condamine is supposed to empty itself, from the circumstance of its having been ascertained to take a westerly course considerably to the northward of Moreton Bay.

"In exploring the intermediate tract," observes Mr. Cunningham, "between the Brisbane River and the point where my overland journey of the preceding year had terminated, I ascertained that a line of road could be easily constructed from the western Downs easterly through the mountain-pass, and thence in a north-easterly direction to the head of the navigation of a branch of the Brisbane River, named the Bremer, to which point evidently the future produce of the interior beyond the mountains will be conveyed; since from it the means of intercarriage to shipping in the Bay will be found practicable at all seasons of the year, whatever may be the effect of drought on the land; the tide, which daily sets into the Brisbane for fifty miles above its mouth, flowing also up the channel of the Bremer, the depth of water in which it augments eight or nine feet."*

It was not, therefore, from uncertainty as to the course that traffic would be likely to take to and from the interior at Moreton Bay, on the opening of the settlement for free immigration, but with a perfect knowledge of the only course that it could possibly take, that the Lo-

* Brief View of Interior Discovery in New South Wales. Journal of Geographical Society, vol. ii., page 117.

cal Government of New South Wales, administered although it was by officers of high standing in the military service of the country, who had the absolute disposal of the labour of upwards of a thousand convicts at Moreton Bay for many years, nevertheless never constructed a single mile of road in the direction indicated by Mr. Cunningham, or indeed in any other, with the single exception of the pleasure-drive along the banks of the Brisbane, to which I have already alluded. Everything of this kind was left to be done for themselves by the free immigrants, when convict labour was permanently withdrawn from the district, and when labour of any other description was not to be had for any such purpose of urgent necessity on any terms. No wonder, therefore, that British colonists should feel deeply indignant at the manner in which their best interests are thus compromised and sacrificed in the colonies, under the Downing Street autocracy,—at the manner in which they are thus be-Generaled and be-Coloneled everywhere.

Of a subsequent journey, undertaken in the year 1829, to the sources of the Brisbane, Mr. Cunningham states the result in the following passage, in a letter to His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Darling, of date Parramatta, 12th Dec. 1829 :

“ From the above details of my last excursion, two facts are to be gathered. The one that the Brisbane River (at one period conceived to be connected with the waters of our interior) originates on the eastern side of the Dividing Range, its chief sources being in elevated land lying almost immediately on the coast-line, between the parallels of 26° and 27°. The other that the Main Ranges, which separate our coast-waters from those that fall internally, continue northerly in one unbroken chain, as far as the eye could discern, beyond the parallel of 27°, presenting no opening or hollow part of the Range, of moderate elevation, by which an exploring party, with the usual equipment, might, without difficulty, pass to the vast interior, beyond that barrier.

“ The pass through these primary mountains, which I discovered in 1827, in the parallel of 28°, and more particularly examined the following year, appears therefore to be the only door of entrance to our interior, in that part of New South Wales ; and as the difficulty in the acclivity to it, from the Forest Ridges on its eastern or coast side, can be removed by labour, under judicious

direction, it will, no doubt, one day become a general thoroughfare, especially when the spacious Downs, and other very extensive tracts of rich pasturage, to which it opens, are taken into consideration."

In this last journey—the last he made in the great Australian wilderness, which he had so long, so sedulously, and so successfully explored—Mr. Cunningham had not fewer than three rencounters with the Aborigines; of which, as they exhibit, in a somewhat remarkable manner, the character and habits of that singular people, I shall subjoin the following account in his own language:—

"Whilst we were in the act of selecting a spot on which to pitch our tents, we unexpectedly came upon two women and some children, who were sitting on the trunk of a tree on fire. They instantly ran off, with their children on their shoulders, and setting up a loud cry, immediately brought the men to them. This small group of Indians, after recovering from their alarm, took a distant peep at us, and then retiring to a remote part of the vale, led us to conclude that we should see their faces no more.

"After dusk, however, these savages called out to us, from a ridge immediately at the back of our tents, to which we replied by signs, inviting them to approach us in a friendly manner, which, after some hesitation, they did; and in order to assure them of our peaceable dispositions, some bread was given to them, and a pair of scissors, the use of which was previously shown them by clipping their hair. This proved a most acceptable present, but I soon discovered that, if encouraged, they would soon become exceedingly troublesome, since everything they saw about our persons they coveted, particularly our hats, which, by signs, they signified would be very useful to them to carry wild honey in, which they obtain in abundance from hollow trees in this part of the country.

"I therefore gladly dismissed them by making signs for their departure, we ourselves retiring to our tents, which they would not approach on account of our dogs, who were not without difficulty restrained from attacking those defenceless Indians, who consisted of five persons—two men of middle age, two boys, and a young woman apparently about 21 years of age.

* * * * *

"We had scarcely pitched our tents before the four natives who had followed us over the Range, appeared on the opposite margin of the Plains, where we perceived they made a fire, with probably the intention of roasting some game, which, we remarked (whilst passing the ridge) they had taken from the hol-

low trees. Fearing to approach us, they called out, but we had determined not to encourage, or even appear to notice them.

"As the grass of the plain had been of luxuriant growth, and was at this time so exceedingly dry that, when once fired, it would be impossible to arrest the progress of the flames, I conceived it possible that these savages might, from malicious motives, set the whole on fire, with the view of destroying our baggage, no part of which, they clearly perceived from our reserved conduct towards them, they could possibly become possessed of. With this impression, and as a precautionary step, I directed several large branches of sapling trees on the creek to be cut, ready to beat out any fire that might be advancing over to our side of the plain, which, moreover, on the change of the wind, happened to lie to leeward.

"All remained tranquil for about three hours ; occasionally they hailed us, but received no reply. At length we perceived that their numbers had become increased to seven persons, and as they had begun to separate from each other, as if with the design of surrounding us, I was convinced they were bent on mischief. Watching the opportunity, when my people had sat down to get their dinners, the eldest native set fire to the dry grass, and then stooping down that he might not be seen, he ran along the opposite skirts of the plain, carrying a fire-brand, and igniting as he went. The others did the same in an opposite direction, and thus, in a few moments, (the wind having materially freshened in their favour,) an extensive line of flame appeared to windward of us, making rapid advances toward our little encampment.

"Instantly I ordered a semicircle of smaller dimensions to be burnt round us, one hundred yards from the tents, and about twelve feet broad. Such was the violence of the wind, and the dry nature of the grass and herbage, that we had very great difficulty in beating out the inner margin of the fire we had made, in effecting which, with the branches I had fortunately got previously cut, my people were sadly scorched.

"However, our lives and our baggage were at stake, and under my direction and encouraging cheers, my servants behaved admirably. Meanwhile, the enemy's flames were, with an appalling noise and rapidity, approaching us. The heat was excessive ; the columns of black smoke that were driven before the wind almost stifled us, whilst the red-hot flakes of burnt stubble flew about us in a most terrific manner.

"Such was the force of the wind, that it required our utmost exertions to prevent our own flames from approaching the encampment, and before we could put them out, the natives' fire had joined a patch of them, and having spread within fifty yards of my tent, beat back my people who were labouring, seemingly in vain, to check its progress. When I observed my people were forced for the moment to retire before the flames, I conceived destruction to our baggage as inevitable, and was just in the act

of directing them to tear up my tent, and drag it, with certain portions of the baggage, over to a neighbouring burnt patch, when (as by a kind interposition of Providence) the wind veered round more to the southward and eastward, and freshening, blew the body of flame past us into the creek, where, meeting with much green herbage and grass, it was soon extinguished. In a few minutes the smoke was also blown past us, and although we beheld what had been a short period previously a matted grassy sward, now a blackened waste, we nevertheless congratulated ourselves on being delivered from what at one moment we viewed as certain destruction. All was tranquillity again, with the exception that occasionally the natives (again collected round their little fire on the opposite side of the plain) gave us a yell of disappointment that their diabolical purposes had been thus defeated.

* * * * *

These natives, (three in number,) were young men of the ordinary stature of the Aborigines of Moreton Bay, (viz. about six feet,) and appeared very athletic active persons, of unusually muscular limb, and with bodies (much scarified) in exceedingly good case. They were perfectly naked, and without arms. As I had directed my people on no account to reply to their frequent calls, we continued our journey over the flat, without seeming to notice them; recollecting well that the affair at Laidley's Plain was partly brought about by our attentions to those savages. Finding we did not regard them, but continued advancing forward, before them, very leisurely, and in profound silence, they at length came up with us, and when abreast of our bullocks, set up a most hideous yell, evidently to alarm them, which it had nearly the effect of doing, had not their leaders (who had previously suspected the diabolical intentions of these people,) been fully prepared to check the cattle at the moment. This attempt to interrupt us determined me at once to direct a musket to be fired over their heads, which so alarmed these Indians, that, taking to their heels, they were soon out of sight; their flight back to Lockyer's Plain being in no ordinary degree accelerated by our dogs who pursued them for a short space at full cry.*

I am enabled to add to these interesting notices, a series of memoranda, relative to the geological formation, the botany, and the general character and features of the Moreton Bay country, and especially of the country along the head-waters of the Brisbane and its

* Manuscript Report to His Excellency, Lieutenant General Darling, in the Archives of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, New South Wales.

tributary streams, from the pen of one of the most accomplished observers of nature, as well as one of the most enterprising men of the present age. Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, a native of Prussia, who had been originally intended for the medical profession, but had latterly given his time and attention at the German Universities to the study of physical science in all its branches, arrived in New South Wales, in the hope of attaching himself as a naturalist to some expedition for the prosecution of geographical discovery in Australia, in the year 1842. I had the honour of making his acquaintance on his arrival in the colony, through my connection with a German Mission to the Aborigines, which I had been the means of founding at Moreton Bay; and as he happened to reside for upwards of a year in that part of the territory, and was in regular correspondence during that period with a mutual friend in Sydney of kindred taste and pursuits, Robert Lynd, Esq., Barrackmaster, he did me the favour, on being apprised of my intention to publish a work in England on the northern division of the colony, with a view to develop its extraordinary capabilities as a field for emigration, to permit me to make a few extracts from that correspondence, illustrative of the geology, the botany, and the general physical character and features of Moreton Bay. During his residence in that part of the territory, Dr. L. was planning an expedition to Port Essington, overland, which he has since achieved—contrary to the anticipations and predictions of almost all classes in New South Wales—with brilliant success.

Dr. Leichhardt travelled to Moreton Bay, overland, and the first letter, from which the following extract is taken, contains a few observations on the Darling Downs :—

EXTRACTS FROM DR. LEICHHARDT'S LETTERS, TO MR. LYND.

MISSION STATION, 23d June 1843.

From the Condamine river, the country rises very gently, almost imperceptibly, till the road passes between two hills or ranges, when the basaltic rock re-appears again. Very extensive

shallow valleys or plains, generally with a creek, overgrown with reeds, covered with high rich grass, were spread before my eyes, when I had passed these hills, the right of which goes under the name of Rubislaw, and the left under that of Sugar-loaf. Here and there the grass-tree is seen either single, or in groups and groves. It is one foot and more in diameter, and eight to ten feet high. Till then I had never seen the grass-tree in rich soil; on the contrary, it was the sign of the poorest sandstone rock and sand. Here the case is reversed, the grass-tree grows in the finest soil, and generally in plains. The ranges which border the plains are covered with box, with a gum tree, called the Moreton Bay ash, with a different species of angophora, and with another white gum. The trees are generally very scattered, and the forest becomes only denser, the vegetation more powerful, as we approach the range of its eastern slopes. All this country, from the Condamine to the range, is called the DARLING DOWNS. There is no equal to them over all the colony for sheep rearing, for the fatness and tenderness of the mutton, for the excellent qualities of the wool, (which, however, is not generally admitted,) and for the cheap rate for which flocks can be managed. One shepherd can look after 2000 to 3000 sheep, which would require four shepherds in other parts.

As we approached the settlement, (Brisbane Town,) unknown trees and shrubs increased in number, and the settlement itself, well situated on the banks of a noble river, was surrounded by acacias in the full pride of golden blossoms.

Dr. Leichhardt's first excursion was to the Wide Bay River, in latitude 26° , passing to the westward of the Glasshouses, through what is called the Bunya-Bunya country, from a remarkable tree of that name, which is found to the northward of the 27th parallel of south latitude, and which at certain seasons supplies the Aborigines with a very palatable food:—

FROM HEAD STATION OF MR. EALES, WIDE BAY RIVER.
7th August, 1843.

In travelling from Archer's and Mackenzie's we had to cross a very high range of sienite, which had been broken through by basaltic rock. This range divides the district of the Brisbane river from the Wide Bay river district.

These Glasshouses are very remarkable from their abrupt and fantastic shape, and they are visible for a great distance.

The Bunya-Bunya tree is noble and gigantic, and its umbrella like-head overtops all the trees of the Brush. It seems to be a brush tree, but covers, probably like the *Araucaria Cunninghamii*, more open ranges.

The Bunya-Bunya is by no means a yearly regular crop; it gives rather a feast to the black-fellows than food. Many tribes come at that time to the district, and fight day after day, while the women collect the cones and seeds of the tree, and prepare the dinner.

His next excursion was to the Glasshouses, of which the following notice is contained in a letter dated Archer's Station, Bunya-Bunya, 4th September 1843:—

ARCHER'S STATION, BUNYA-BUNYA,
4th September 1843.

Last Saturday, I returned from a three days' excursion to the Glasshouses. These mountains are very remarkable. Out of low ranges they rise like needles, like castles, like those fantastic isolated rocks in the Ocean, to which sailors have given similar names. The highest of them, Biroa, (or Birwab,) is about 1000 feet high, and is composed of a rock entirely different from the surrounding mountains. I have seen similar mountain features in the neighbourhood of *Clermont-Ferrand* in *Auvergne*, and geologists have called the rock domite, because of its affecting generally the form of a dome. This Domite belongs to the Trachytic group. It is rather an earthy paste with some scattered crystals of feldspar. The mountain is extremely steep and its sides almost naked rock; but wherever a hollow or a depression has allowed the accumulation of some soil and of moisture, a rich vegetation appears—single but full high bushes of a broad leaved *Boronia*, a dendrobium with red blossoms, a shrub belonging to the *Tiliaceae*, *Zieria*, *Calytrix*, and several old friends. There is no doubt in my mind that the sea heaved once round these mountains: they are surrounded by sandstone ridges of a coarse grain, and the soil is composed of pure sand, slightly mixed with vegetable mould. The grass-tree grows in thousands, *casuarina*, the apple tree, *chorizema*, three species of *Banksia*, whilst only one *Banksia* is found inland.

The clouds are gathering again, and it seems as if no change of the moon could pass without some days' rain. During rainy weather it is warm and close, and vegetation advances rapidly; but at once a strong dry westerly wind sets in, the nights get cold, the days very hot, the soil dries rapidly, and the young plants suffer.

I cannot omit mentioning, that I found the Moreton Bay passion-flower in full blossom, near a water-hole, in a rather swampy place, with tea trees, (*melaleuca*) and coarse grasses.

The next letter, from Mr. Bigge's Station, is as follows:—

MR. BIGGE'S STATION, MOUNT BRISBANE,
19th Oct. 1843.

I am now moving again, after having been compelled, by rain and sore backs [of the horses], to stay about six weeks at Mr. Archer's, at the foot of a spur of the Bunya-Bunya Range. I was not idle, however; for, as I wrote you in my last letter, I made an excursion to the coast, and had a treat of oysters with my friends, the Nynga-Nynga blacks. You could have imagined to enter a primitive village—their bark huts in a circle round a fire and irregularly scattered over a sandy flat, with a swamp, which provided them with fresh water.* As I came to them, the one brought a handful of oysters, the other some crabs—a species of *lupaca*, the finest crab which Mr. Archer or myself ever tasted. During low water the sea leaves a very extensive flat dry, and this gives as many fine oysters to the black-fellows as they wish to collect.

I went from Archer's to Mr. (Sir Evan) Mackenzie's, who has a sheep and cattle station almost due west from Archer's. Here I visited several brushes and found several brush-trees in blossom. The rock is slate, primitive, and one point trachytic (at least belonging to the group). From Mackenzie's I turned to the south, travelled for some miles over sandstone, and entered, at Mr. Bigge's again, primitive and igneous formations. Mr. Bigge's Station lies under the southern head of the Brisbane, which is here dioritic—that is, the rock is composed of feldspar and hornblende—now the one, now the other predominant. To the east, a rock like that of Biroa and the Glasshouses is found—crystals of feldspar in a feldspathic rather earthy paste.

On Mount Brisbane I found a little shrub, belonging to the family of the Mallows, in blossom. The flower is tubular and red, about an inch long, and very showy. The same brush grew on the sandstone hills of Wide Bay. *Calothamnus*, a little tree about twenty feet high, with drooping branches, somewhat like the weeping willow, is in full blossom, and adorns the creeks most elegantly with its numerous cylinders of red blossoms. It is extremely rich. Several species of *Clerodendron*, smaller or bigger trees, enter into blossom. One of the finest sights I had was that of a *Glycine*, a climbing shrub, which is now in full blossom. The flower is a pale violet, the inflorescence long grapes, which form the most elegant festoons from tree to tree along some creeks. The blacks call this brush *Birri* or *Birriwi*, and eat the fruit on the pod when young. I was so struck with the beauty of the sight that I almost forgot, in gazing, to take specimens. I took these at last; but I am sorry to say that many blossoms dropt off, and that they lose considerably in colour. It is in general very difficult to dry brush plants—even simple

* This is the swamp above referred to behind Toorbal Point.

branches. The brilliant green which they generally possess fades away ; the leaves shrink, if not under the pressure of a press, and get sickly and ugly.

The settlers have treated me very kindly. Mr. Archer, Mr. (Sir Evan) Mackenzie, and Mr. Bigge are all well educated men. It is remarkable how many of these settlers have been in Germany. This makes their conversation even in so far agreeable, as it frequently recalls to my mind my country and its customs. Few of them take any interest in my pursuits, but they assist me as much as I require. It is very hot, and yet I make excursions generally, up hill and even up mountain !

The next letter is also dated from Mr. Bigge's Station, and is as follows :—

MR. BIGGE'S STATION, 8th Nov. 1843.

I have seen some forty miles more of the District, and *the more I see, the more I feel convinced that it is eminently fit for small Settlers.*

I went down to Lockyer's Creek, which is surrounded by extensive plains. Out of one of these plains, on the station of Mr. Wingate, a little conical hill rises, and excites by its unexpected presence, the curiosity of the passer-by. I ascended it, and found that it is composed of a curious variety of basaltic rock, with the fragments of evidently broken pillars like those of the Giant's Causeway. They are much inclined, and their heads lie towards south by west. This hill is called Tarampa, and its vegetation is quite as curious as its geological composition. I gathered a great number of shrubs in blossom and fruit, one of which struck me equally from the fragrancy and from the colour (white and yellow) of its flowers. The scrubs, between Lockyer's Creek and Limestone, gave me also some good plants, and I observed here the rosewood tree, which is nothing else than an acacia, the flowers capitate and axillary.

The brushes of the south head of Mount Brisbane or Brisbane Range, are rather poor. The *Araucaria Cunninghami* (Moreton Bay pine) is frequent, as in all the mountain brushes of the district.

In travelling from the Brisbane Range downwards to Limestone, you soon leave the primitive rock behind you, and pass over a Puddingstone, which seems to be made up of pebbles from the Primitive Ranges towards the north. As soon as you cross the river, and go towards Lockyer's Creek, you are on sandstone, which composes ridges of small elevation, between which extensive plains exist. In some of the creeks which I had to cross, I found pebbles of carbonate of lime. This substance occurs frequently in small concretions of the size of the hazel-nut in a loose black soil, which is equally found on Darling Downs, and

on Liverpool Plains. Here very large grass-trees grow in it. Thus the different species of *Xanthorrhææ* indicate either an extremely poor sandy soil, or very rich black mild soil, containing much carbonate of lime, and being very fertile, provided rain and water is frequent. Besides this description of soil, there are many flats between the Primitive Mountain ranges and ridges, which are very stiff and clayey. A bed of clay lies generally one and a-half to three feet, below the surface. This clay is probably the produce of the decomposition of the feldspar contained in the dioritic, sienitic, and granitic rocks, which form the principal mountains intervening between the heads of the Brisbane, and the Wide Bay River.

The forest ground resembles at present one uninterrupted oat or rye field in harvest time. *Antistheria Australis* is almost the only predominant grass. On the black soil, several others are found, but they are rare. The *Antistheria* grows here about three to four feet high ; in lower situations much higher ; and as you ride or walk through it, you feel sorry that such a fine grass does not produce a fuller and more nutritive grain. In a few weeks it will be burnt to have fine fresh shoots for the sheep and cattle. This burning-off of the grass, with its seeds, has been blamed as injurious to the density of the turf ; but though Count Strzelecki himself partook in this opinion, and *made the Home Government send out orders against the burning of the grass*, it is altogether erroneous. The soil is only able to nourish a certain number of stems or of tufts of this perennial plant. These tufts increase with the richness of the soil, and decrease and become more scattered as the soil gets poorer. The fire does not destroy the roots, and as the ashes form a good manure, it rather contributes to enrich the soil and enlarge the tuft. A rich turf would be formed, if other species of grasses were sown in the interstices of the tufts of *Antistheria* ; for the soil, though incapable of producing more of *one* species of grass, would still yield nutriment enough to other species. This I explained to several of the advocates of the not-burning system, which is extremely foolish and injurious to the live stock. Even the black-fellow seems aware of its usefulness. He burns early in the year, whenever time is favourable, small patches, which afterwards attract the kangaroo by the sweetness of the young grass.

The next letter is dated Archer's Station, 24th Nov. 1843 :—

ARCHER'S STATION, 24th Nov. 1843.

I went to the Station of Mr. Scott, which is on the banks of the river, below the junction of Stanley Creek and Archer's Creek. A high Range rises two miles behind the hut, and the banks of the river rise towards the south-east, into another less elevated Range. The forest is formed by silver-leaved ironbark (*Euca-*

lyptus *Glaucus*?) real Ironbark and *Angophora Cardifolia*. Singularly enough some few box trees, which, in the interior, indicate a good soil, grow here on a poor soil, almost entirely devoid of lower vegetation. Between Conglomerate and Pudding Ranges (which rock seems to fill the whole basin between Mount Brisbane, Mount Esk, and D'Aguilar's Range) small flats intervene here and there with a rich black soil, and with concretions of Limestone. These flats have a richer grass, a greater variety of herbs, and are generally embellished by scattered *Xanthorrhæas* eighteen to twenty feet high, and one foot in diameter. It is very remarkable that this species, which I first met with on the Darling Downs, grows always on a rich, mild soil, whereas the smaller species, which I think identical with that near Sydney, indicates invariably the poorest sandy soil. The water-holes and the banks of the river are often densely covered with reeds twelve feet high and upwards. Near the river, and particularly where brushes commence, these reeds are accompanied by nettles often as high as themselves, and by different Cyperaceous Plants which form an almost impenetrable jungle. There was a little brush opposite Scott's, with outskirts of that description. After much pains I got into this brush, and here all lower vegetation ceases at once. Every thing strives to get to the light. The climbers ascend to the tops of the trees, and display there their rich foliage and blossoms. The trees themselves rarely form branches under forty to fifty feet high. At that elevation, the crown of one tree touches that of the other—all interwoven with vines, and spread over with sheets of white, purple, or red blossoms. Over all these, the Moreton Bay Pine and the Bunya-Bunya raise their towering heads, both differing in shape, and the former perhaps the more picturesque of the two.

After losing a day again in search of my horse, I went to Mount Esk, about two miles from Mr. Scott's. The rock is a feldspathic porphyry, resembling a little that of Mount Biroa. In a gulley which comes down from this mountain, I found an entirely new *Hibiscus*, with leaves of the *Platanus*, but thickly covered with down. From Mr. Scott's, I went to Mr. McConnell's, a gentleman who came out with considerable property, which he laid out in sheep and cattle. He is considered to have the finest *run* in the district. He has built a very comfortable house, which he keeps considerably free of fleas—the curse of the bush—as the people do not take the trouble to air and dust their blankets regularly. He took more than common interest in my pursuits, and I spent a very agreeable time during my stay with him. From his place I visited several points. In his brush I found several shrubs in blossom. On his creek, *Castanospermum Australe*, the Moreton Bay Chesnut entered into blossom about the 13th November, and a species of *Melaleuca*, with small linear lanceolate leaves, was covered with a sheet of snowy flowers. Thus the creeks of this interesting district change their dress or their ornaments almost every fortnight. From the 3rd October to the 20th, creek, ri-

ver, and water-holes were adorned with the scarlet blossoms of *Calothamnus*, which hangs with drooping branches like the weeping-willow over the waters, looking on its own beauty, like *Narcissus*, and dropping blossom after blossom into the murmuring stream, as man drops his blighted hopes into the stream of life. *Melaleuca* opens its flower about the 25th October, and is in its richest colours about the 10th of November. *Castanospermum* forms its flower on the leafless part of the branch; the large dark-green pinnate leaves being collected at the end of the branch. The flowers are almost like those of *Kennedia Rubicunda*, in short grapes. The impression is exceedingly rich. Another myrtle is not far from blossoming; it is called *Kulu* by the black-fellows; is a considerable tree of dark-green foliage, and is found at almost every creek. I think I have mentioned in a former letter the beauty of the *Birwi* or Bread-fruit—a climber, with grapes of violet blossoms, which I found at the creek of *Nurrum-Nurrum*. Nor shall I forget to mention *Calladium*, which enters at present in blossom. The plant rises on a short cabbage-like stem, and has large rich green leaves, with long fleshy stalks. The flowers are collected in a cylinder—the females below and the male ones above—and this cylinder is surrounded by a large green *Spathé*. It smells very strong, like violet, or rather like scented soap, for it is almost too strong to be pleasant. At a certain time of the year it forms tubers at its roots, which are eaten by the black-fellows after three days' soaking and pounding. As I am convinced that it is a plant very similar to the *Taro* (?) of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, I tried whether the poisonous properties could not be easily destroyed by boiling; but though the green leaf had lost considerably of its strength, it still made the tongue raw after half an-hour's boiling.

I ascended a sugar-loaf, east of *McConnell's*, which is connected with the *Brisbane Range*. At the foot conglomerate; at the top a dioritic rock (feldspar and hornblende); in a saddle a beautiful augitic porphyry, as I remember having seen two fine vases made of in the Vatican in Rome. About the 11th November, I continued my journey to *Mr. Balfour's*, whose station is the highest on *Stanley Creek*. There is no brush nearer than twelve miles, and consequently, after having examined the geological composition of the neighbouring mountains, I bent my way to the east, crossed the *Brisbane Range*, and returned to *Mr. (now Sir Evan) Mackenzie's*.

It is now fifteen months since I left Sydney, and last October I finished my 30th year. The rapidity of time reminds me of the shortness of my life, and it is not so much for me to think of dying, as to think of dying without leaving something behind me that may speak for me when my ashes are driving in the wind. Even in assisting people with my medical knowledge, I feel a great satisfaction, for I am an immediately useful member of society.

The following letter, of date, *Durrundur*, *Archer's*

Station, 9th January 1844, contains an interesting description of a Bunya-Bunya feast :—

DURRUNDUR, ARCHER'S STATION, 9th Jan. 1844.

The 31st December I returned from my expedition to the Bunya feast of the black-fellows, and well have I feasted myself. Mr. John Archer and Mr. Waterstone accompanied me, with three black-fellows, who carried our provisions, as the dense brushes did not permit to take horses with us.

I have travelled again in those remarkable mountain brushes, out of which the Bunya-Bunyas lift their majestic heads, like pillars of the blue vault of heaven. I measured several, and their circumference six feet high was 17 to 20 feet. The black-fellows go up to the top of these giants of vegetation with a simple bush-vine, which they put round the tree and which they push higher with every step they take upwards. They break the cones, almost a foot long and $\frac{3}{4}$ in diameter, and throw them down. They whistle through the air and their fall sounds far through the silence of the brush. Those trees the fruit of which we gathered had 4, 5, or 6 cones. Every cone contained, perhaps, 40 to 50 fertile scales; many, and particularly those of the top of the cone, are not fertile. The black-fellows eat an immense quantity; and, indeed, it is difficult to cease, if one has once commenced to eat them. If you find a favourable tree, and if the circumstances are favourable too—for instance, if the day is cool, in the morning and evening—the kernel of the Bunya fruit has a very fine aroma, and it is certainly a delicious eating; but during a very hot day, or from an unfavourable tree, the fruit is by no means so tasteful as I hoped to find them generally. The black-fellows roast them, and we tried even to boil them; the fruit lost, however, its flavour in both cases. Besides, it did not agree with my stomach.* The black-fellows thrive well on them, but Mr. Archer told me that the young people return generally with boils all over the body, and I witnessed myself some cases.

There is a little valley, an open plain, in the midst of these brushes which cover, perhaps, an extent of 50 miles long and 10 miles broad. This plain they call Booroon, and it seems the rendezvous for fights between the hostile tribes who come from far and near to enjoy the harvest of the Bunya. I went to Booroon. A creek, fed by the shady gulleys of the brushes, passes it; low ranges, all covered with thick brush, all of igneous formation, surround it: many a Bunya-tree looks down on the capers of the sable children of forest and brush, of plain and mountain, of the sea-coast and of the country inland. They intended to have a fight, but their antagonists did not appear. I saw some black beauties—young unmarried women, about 14 to

* They are slightly cathartic.

17 years old, or perhaps still younger. They were very regularly formed ; their movements were free and graceful ; they were full of mirth and joke, and examined us with all the *naïveté* of youth. Their faces could not be beautiful, for their flat broad noses will never permit it ; but the proportions of the body in woman and man are as perfect as those of the Caucasian race, and the artist would find an inexhaustible source of observation and study amongst these black tribes. The weather was very unfavourable ; we had during the whole journey showers of rain, which made my collecting plants very difficult and precarious. The Bunya was not yet entirely ripe, and, according to the statements of the black-fellows, it was no rich harvest. It would have been in vain to collect cones to send them to Sydney or to Europe ; they would have been rotten in less than a week. I took several kernels with the woody case : I took every precaution and dried them in the sun and in the shade ; but alas ! they are already gone ! It seems, indeed, that these trees bear very good fruit only every three years or in such period, though there are trees in bearing during every year.

I have been all the time collecting specimens of wood, and become familiar with the various trees of the bush. I have at present about 120 different trees [varieties of timber].

The next extract relates to the meteorology of the district, the rainy season having commenced.

19th January 1844.

The rainy season has commenced—powers of rain have poured down ; the rivers and creeks were filled to the highest brim, and the adjacent flats and hollows were extensively inundated. The waters, falling on the steep slopes of the Bunya Range and of its spurs, collected quickly into the gulleys and creeks, and ran off as quickly as they came. The wind blew during the rains from easterly quarters (east and south-east). Last Thursday it changed to the west and fair weather set in again ; but even now thunder storms are generally gathering in the afternoon and loose clouds send down occasional showers, particularly towards evening and during the night. The wind during the rains was very slight, and in the morning there was generally a perfect calm. The heat during the sunny intervals is very oppressive, and I think it approaches very much to the description of the moist heat of the East Indies.

The next extract I shall give is from a letter, dated Canning Downs, a part of the Darling Downs country, 27th March 1844 :—

CANNING DOWNS, 27th March 1844.

I visited an extremely interesting mountainous country and

beheld some of the finest scenery which this colony possesses. Flinders' Peak Range and several other large mountains, either isolated and forming bold masses of naked rock or in high ranges covered with brush, with some immense precipices, are composed of the rock of the Glasshouses (Domite or earthy Trachyte). Sandstone extends in horizontal layers round their foot; coal crops out here and there from the mouth of the River to the very foot of the Coast Range. Fossil wood is found in the sandstone in very considerable masses. The brush bears a different character from that of Archer's. It is not so dense, does not contain so many vines, and its principal constituent is the Rosewood Acacia, the wood of which has a very agreeable violet scent like the Myal Acacia (*a. pendula*) in Liverpool Plains. The ground is dry, but several Malvaceous half-shrubby plants which grow to four or five feet high, make a passage through the brush very difficult. The most interesting tree of this Rosewood brush is the true Bottle Tree—a strange looking unscemly tree, which swells slightly four to five feet high, and then tapers rapidly into a small diameter; the foliage is thin, the crown scanty and irregular, the leaves lanceolate, of a greyish green; the height of the whole tree is about forty-five feet. Several vines of the *Asclepiadaceae* are in blossom; and some trees which I did not meet before, paid my fatigue.

The finest mountain country I have seen in this colony is the eastern side of the Gap, through which the road passes from the Brisbane to the southern part of the Downs. This Gap intervenes between the high mountains—Mount Mitchell and Mount Cordeaux. Sunny ranges, covered with fine grass and open forest, ascend pretty rapidly to the Pass. The coast range forms an amphitheatre of dark steep mountains; a waterfall rushes over a precipice 300 feet high into a rocky valley, which one might take for the crater of an extinct volcano, if the surrounding rocks warranted such a supposition. Bold isolated mountains appear in the distance, in their various tints of blue, and during sunset dimming through a purple mist. Both sides of the mountains have some brushes, particularly the western side, in which many of the trees of the Bunya brushes re-appeared. This is the most western point in which the *Araucaria Cunninghami* has been found. The *Seaforthia* palm is frequent and high. Both trees are remarkable for the latitude in their conditions of life, as they do not only grow in the lower mountain brushes, and in those which accompany rivers and creeks, but grow equally in the brushes along the sea side. It is, however, observed by carpenters, and men who work the wood, that the mountain pine is by far preferable to the river pine, the grain being much closer.

How the eye is pleased at entering again into the open plains of the Downs! Nothing is so agreeable as to see one's way clearly before him. Ranges of middling height, now a chain of cones, now flat-topped mountains covered with brush, now long-backed hills sharply cut at their ends—accompany on each side the

plains, two to three miles broad, and many many miles long. The soil is black and yet mild, with many white concretions of carbonate of lime ; the vegetation is quite different from that of the forest-ground of the other side of the coast range ; the grasses are more various, but they do not cover almost exclusively the ground. They grow more sociably in small communities together, separated by succulent herbs, particularly compositae. The creeks are deeply cut, with steep banks covered with reeds.

13th April.

I have returned from my round, and I have been tolerably successful. Isaacs' creek abounds in fossil bones. Isaacs has some beautiful specimens of the lower jaw bone of a gigantic kangaroo, of the size of a bullock. Three smaller species must have lived at the same time. The locality is very interesting. I think that the aspect of the country has little changed since these giants disappeared, as the fresh water shells, which live at present, are imbedded with those bones in great numbers. I think it not at all improbable to find the animal still living farther inland, and more into the tropics. An animal of such a size, and herbivorous, required much water ; the change of climate, which made former lakes dry up, must have destroyed the conditions of life, and the animal either died or retired to more favourable localities. Large plains extend along the River Condamine, and I crossed one of them twenty-five miles broad, and fifty miles long, a true savannah, in the centre of which I saw the sharp line of the horizon, as if I had been on the ocean. Misfortune again ! I lost my faithful pointer-bitch, my cheerful companion, on this plain—knocked up by want of water !

It is probable, my dear friend, that I shall not stay long in Sydney when I come down. I have found young men willing and able to undergo the fatigues of a private expedition, and if I can muster sufficient resources to pay the expenses of provisions for six men, I shall immediately set out for Port Essington. . . . I know that if I start with these men, whom I know to be excellent bushmen, excellent shots, and without fear, I am sure to succeed. Every one of us has the necessary horses, and all that is required besides, would be six mules with harness for carriage of flour—100 pounds per head—tea and sugar and ammunition. Every one of us has lived weeks and weeks together in the bush, frequently surrounded by hostile blacks, whose character we know, and intercourse with whom we shall always try to avoid. Believe me that one experienced and courageous bushman is worth more than the eight soldiers Sir Thomas intends to take with him. They will be an immense burthen, and of no use.

I start next Monday from the Downs, and I shall proceed as quickly as I can. In three weeks I shall have the pleasure of

seeing you again, and I hope in good health. I am afraid my body is so accustomed to the moving life, that close studies will not agree with it. If my friend (in England) send me the mountain barometer, I shall be a made man.

To these interesting extracts I shall add the following copy of a letter addressed by Dr. Leichhardt to Professor Owen of London, and embodied in Professor O.'s Second Report on the Extinct Mammals of Australia, read at the Annual Meeting of the British Association, July, 1845 :

SYDNEY, 10th July, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—You have probably forgotten the German student to whom you were so kind as to give a letter of introduction to Sir Thomas Mitchell, in Sydney. I am desirous of rivetting my name more deeply into your memory ; and, in order to do so, I take the liberty of sending you one or two specimens of the collection of fossil bones I made in Darling Downs. It is one branch of the lower jaw of the young gigantic pachyderm which once lived near, and in the swamps and lagoons, which must have covered these rich plains.

These plains are covered by broad shallow valleys, without trees, covered only with grass and herbage, which grow luxuriantly on the rich black soil, in which conerations of carbonate of lime are frequently found. Ranges of low hills forming long simple lines, with sudden slopes, and flat-topped cones, accompany these valleys, and bear an open forest, formed of various species of rather stunted *Eucalyptus*.

All these hills are formed by a basaltic rock, containing frequently crystals of peridot, and being often cellular, sometimes real scoriae. The base of the rock is, however, feldspathic, and as the peridot is frequently absent, the rock becomes uniformly grey, forms a white globule before the blow-pipe, and is therefore to be classed among the trachytes or pherolithes. The plains are filled by an alluvium of considerable depth, as *wells dug 50 or 60 feet deep have been still within it*. The plains and creeks in which the fossil bones have been found, are Mr. Hodgson's creek, Campbell's creek, and Oaky creek. They pass all into and through immense plains on the west side of the Condamine, into which they fall. The bones are either found in the bed of the creek, particularly in the mud of dried up water-holes, or in the banks of the creeks, in a red loamy breccia, or in a bed of pebbles, containing many trachytic pebbles of the Coast Range, from the west side of which these creeks descend.

In the banks of the creeks you find at first the rich black soil of the plain, about three feet thick ; then layers of clay and of

loam, here and there, particularly at Isaacs' creek, with marly concretions of strange irregular forms.

The masses of these concretions are often of considerable thickness, though not extending far horizontally; the loam contains small broken pieces of ironstone, (*breccia*,) and is equally local. Below these the bed of pebbles lies; the bones are found in the *breccia*, generally near the concretions, but not with them; or they occur amongst the pebbles. A very interesting fact is the presence of univalve and bivalve shells, which live still in the neighbouring water-holes, in the same beds in which the bones are found; they are either intimately united with the bones by a marly cement, or they occur independently. The greatest depth in which bones are found is twelve feet; at Oaky creek we find them at the surface. Besides the bones of the gigantic animal, there are lower jaws and different parts of the skeleton of four other kangaroos, many of them little different from the living ones, and probably identical with those of Wellington Valley.

It seems to me that the conditions of life can have very little changed, as the same shells live still in similar water-holes; the want of food can scarcely be the cause of their disappearing, as flocks of sheep and cattle pasture over their fossil remains. But as such an herbivore must have required a large body of water for his sustenance, the drainage of these uplands, or the failing of those springs, the calcareous water of which formed the concretions in the banks of the creeks, has been probably the cause of their retiring to more favourable localities; and I should not be surprised if I found them in the tropical interior through which I am going to find my way to Port Essington. I have put a caudal vertebra into the little box, more in order to fill it, than as valuable to you, as Sir Thomas Mitchell told me that he has sent you a fine collection of almost every part of the body.

Living here as the bird lives, who flies from tree to tree, living on the kindness of a friend fond of my science, or on the hospitality of the settler and squatter, with a little mare, I travelled more than 2500 miles, zigzag, from Newcastle to Wide Bay, being often groom and cook, washer-woman, geologist, and botanist at the same time, and I delighted in this life; but I feel too deeply that ampler means would enable me to do more and to do it better. When you hear next of me, it will be either that I am lost and dead, or that I have succeeded to penetrate through the interior to Port Essington.—Believe me ever to be,

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours most truly,

LUDWIG LEICHHARDT.

CHAPTER IV.

A VISIT TO MORETON BAY.

Procedo, et parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis
Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
Agnosco, Scaeeaque amplector limina portae.

VIRG. AEN. III., 351.

A second Britain rises to my view,
And the Old World's reflected in the New !
While Fancy pictures, on that distant strand,
The streams and mountains of my native land.

VIRGIL AUSTRALIANIZED.

ALTHOUGH I had had much epistolary communication with persons residing in the district of Moreton Bay, for many years previous, I had never visited that part of the territory till the month of November, 1845. Desirous, however, of ascertaining its capabilities in person, previous to my intended voyage to Europe, I embarked for Brisbane Town, in that month, on board the steamboat *Sovereign*, Captain Cape, which was then plying regularly between Sydney and Moreton Bay, although since superseded by a larger vessel. We took in a supply of coals for the outward voyage, on the morning after our departure from Sydney, at the Port of Newcastle, situated at the mouth of the river Hunter, about seventy miles to the northward of Sydney, coals for the return voyage being procurable at Moreton Bay ; and after rather a long passage of six days, during one of which we were wind-bound at Newcastle,

we reached the Flat Rock, near the southern entrance of Moreton Bay, during the night, and cast anchor till the turn of the tide should enable us to cross the bar at daylight. In the morning, before we weighed anchor, the mariners caught nearly a cart-load of excellent fish, of various species, and many of them very large, on which all on board both breakfasted and dined, the rest being reserved as presents for the good people of Brisbane Town.

There is no place near Sydney where fish are in such abundance, or of such excellent quality, as at Moreton Bay; and in the event of a large free immigrant population being settled in that part of the territory, a fishery could be established in the Bay with great facility, not only for the supply of a large commercial town, but for curing and exportation. The species of fish that are commonest in the Bay are mullet, bream, puddinba, (a native name, corrupted by the colonists into pudding-ball,) kingfish, jewfish, blackfish, whiting, catfish, (a fish with a large head, resembling a haddock in taste,) &c., &c. The puddinba is like a mullet in shape, but larger, and very fat; it is esteemed a great delicacy. Cod and snapper are the species most frequent at the Flat Rock outside the entrance.

Turtle are very numerous in their proper season, particularly at Kaneipa, the southern extremity of the Bay, where small coasting vessels take in cedar for Sydney. An intelligent black native whom I met with on the Brisbane River, about the middle of December, when asked when the turtle would come to the Bay, held up five fingers in reply, saying, "that moon;" signifying that they would come about the middle of May. The greatest excitement prevails in *hunting* the turtle, (for it can scarcely be called fishing,) black natives being always of the party, and uniformly the principal performers. The deepest silence must prevail, and if the slightest noise is made by any European of the party, the natives, who assume the direction of affairs, frown the offender into silence. They are constantly looking all around them for the game, and their keen eye de-

fects the turtle in the deep water, when invisible to Europeans. Suddenly, and without any intimation of any kind, one of them leaps over the gunwale of the boat, and dives down in the deep water between the oars, and perhaps, after an interval of three minutes, reappears on the surface with a large turtle. As soon as he appears with his prey, three or four other black-fellows leap overboard to his assistance, and the helpless creature is immediately transferred into the boat. A black-fellow has in this way not unfrequently brought up a turtle weighing five hundred weight. Great personal courage, as well as great agility, is required in this hazardous employment, the black-fellows being frequently wounded by the powerful stroke of the animal's flippers.

Large crabs, frequently of three pounds' weight, are plentiful in the Bay. They are of a flatter form than the European species, and have an additional forceps. Shrimps are also found in great numbers.

But the fish, or rather sea-monster, peculiar to Moreton Bay, and the East coast to the northward, is a species of sea-cow or manatee, called by the black natives *yungan*. It frequently weighs from twelve to fourteen hundred weight, and the skeleton of one of them that was lately forwarded to Europe, measured eleven feet in length. The yungan has a very thick skin, like that of the hog with the hair off. It resembles bacon in appearance very much, (for I happened to see a flitch of it myself in the hands of a black native, although I did not taste it, which I rather regretted afterwards,) and while some parts of the flesh taste like beef, other parts of it are more like pork. The natives are immoderately fond of it; it is their greatest delicacy; and when a yungan is caught on the coast, there is a general invitation sent to the neighbouring tribes to come and eat. The man who first spears the yungan is entitled to perform the ceremony of cutting him up, which is esteemed an office of honour; and the party, whatever be their number, never leave the carcase till it is all gone, eating and disgorging successively till the whole is consumed.

The yungan is supposed to feed on the marine vegetation in the bay ; which, considering the great extent of the latter, and the quantity of alluvial deposit spread over its bottom, must be very abundant. They are taken in nets, formed with very wide meshes, of very strong cord, and when fairly entangled are despatched with spears. Captain Flinders found one of these nets on the beach in Bribie's Island Passage, formed of cord of from $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch to an inch in circumference, and with meshes large enough to permit the escape of moderately sized porpoises ; but while he admired the ingenuity displayed in its formation, he could not divine for what purpose it was intended. As fishermen, the black natives of Moreton Bay have certainly nothing to learn from Europeans, as the following extracts from the account of the expedition of Captain Flinders on that occasion, will sufficiently show :

“ In a house which stood upon the west side of the head, (Red Cliff Point, Moreton Bay,) they found a net or seine, about fourteen fathoms long, the meshes of which were much larger than any English seine, and the twine much stronger ; but its depth was much less, being not more than three feet. At each end it had a pointed stick of about the same length. Upon the shore near the house there was more than one enclosure of a semicircular form, and the sticks and branches of which it was made were set and interwoven so close that a fish could not pass between. This net, Mr. Flinders supposed, was to be placed diametrically across the semicircle at high water, and thus secure all the fish that might get within the inclosure, until the falling tide should leave them dry.”*

“ At this time their attention was much attracted by a party of natives from these islands, [the islands off the entrance of the Brisbane River,] who appeared to be standing up in their canoes and pulling towards them with all their strength, in regular order. They seemed to have long poles or spears in their hands, with which also they appeared to be paddling, the whole of them shifting their hands at the same instant, after the manner of the South Sea Islanders. As about twenty of them were counted, and seemed to be coming on with much resolution, our people

* Account of the English Colony in New South Wales. By David Collins, Esq., late Judge Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. 2 Vols., 4to. London, 1798 and 1802. Vol. 2, page 238.

prepared for whatever might be the event. The sloop was put under easy sail, her decks cleared of every encumbrance, and each man was provided with a competent number of musket balls, pistol balls, and buck shot, which were to be used as the distance might require ; for it was intended that not a man should escape if they commenced an attack.

"Being thus prepared they bore away towards them, finding that with all their exertions they did not approach much nearer to the vessel. But what was their surprise on discovering that, instead of advancing in canoes to attack them, they were standing on a large flat that surrounded the third island, driving fish into their nets, and that they had but two canoes among them. They were standing in a line, splashing in the water with long sticks, first for some time on one side, and then all shifting to splash on the other. Thus this hostile array turned out to be a few peaceful fishermen—peaceful indeed, for on the approach of the vessel they sunk their canoes upon the flat, and retreated to the island where they made their fires."*

In these fishing operations the natives experience much assistance from the porpoise, with which they form a sort of partnership, and which aids them considerably in driving the fish into their nets. For this reason they have a great respect for that animal, and will not allow one of them to be killed on any account, if they can help it.

Captain Flinders appears to have landed on St. Helena Island, close to the Fishermen's Islands, off the entrance of the Brisbane, which he thus describes :

"This island was two or three miles in circumference. The central part was higher than the skirts, and was covered with a coating of fine vegetable mould, of a reddish colour. On the south side of the island this elevated part descended suddenly in a steep bank, where the earth was as red as blood ; and, being clayey, some portions of it were nearly hardened into rock. The trees upon it, among which was the new pine, were large and luxuriant. The exterior part of the island upon the west side [towards the river] was a flat, over which the tide seemed to rise, and was abundantly covered with large mangrove trees. On the south-west and north-east sides, it was low and sandy, and here the palm-nut tree was produced."†

In Pumice-Stone River, it is added, "he saw several large fish, or animals that came up to the surface to

* Ibid, p. 240. † Ibid, p. 241.

blow, in the manner of a porpoise, or rather a seal; for they did not spout, nor had they any dorsal fin. The head also strongly resembled the bluff nosed hair-seal, but their size was greater than any which Mr. Flinders had seen before. He fired three musket balls into one, and Bungaree [a well-known Port Jackson native, who died only a few years ago] threw a spear into another; but they sunk and were not seen again. These animals, which perhaps might be sea-lions, were not observed anywhere but in this river."* There can be no doubt that this strange animal was the yungan.

There is a Romish mission to the Aborigines of Stradbroke Island, situated not far from the Pilot's Station, at an abandoned Government settlement, formerly of some note, on that island, called Dunwich. It was formed in the year 1842, by Archbishop Polding, who had brought two Italian priests with him for the purpose from Rome, and it was introduced to the Colony with a great flourish of trumpets in that quarter, as if Popery would be sure to succeed where Protestantism had uniformly failed. But the Italians, who give out that they have been greatly deceived in the whole matter, have as yet done nothing, and do not expect to do anything with the Aborigines: they despair of their mission, and are anxious only to be relieved.

The pilot at Amity Point, the north end of the island, has had a family of children by a black native woman, with whom he lives as his wife. They are remarkably fine promising children. The Romish Archbishop has placed one of them, whom he was allowed to bring away with him *for his education*, at a Roman Catholic School at Parramatta, I presume with the intention of educating him for the priesthood. I found another of them learning the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism in a Presbyterian family in which he was domiciliated at Brisbane Town, and going regularly to school with the other children.

* Ibid., p. 244.

The navigation from the Southern Entrance of the Bay to the mouth of the Brisbane River is very circuitous, and the process of the formation of land, from the gradual accumulation of the earthy matter brought down by the rivers that empty themselves into the Bay, is in evident progress all the way. There happened to be an unusually high tide when we crossed the Bay; and in many places, as we paddled along in the deep water channel, I was not a little astonished at first, till a moment's reflection served to explain the phenomenon, at observing one or two solitary mangrove trees growing, as it were, out of the sea, to the right or left. But the places where these trees were growing were mere mud banks, very seldom under water.

From the same cause the Brisbane River is evidently pushing forward its banks into the Bay, and forming additional dry land on either shore for future generations; the lower part of its course, for eight or ten miles from its entrance, being lined on either side with a forest of gloomy mangroves, exhibiting, amid their cheerless vegetation,

“ Water, water everywhere,
But not a drop to drink !”

What a splendid site this noble Bay would form for a Dutch Colony, *with the fee-simple granted to them of all the land they might reclaim from the waters!* It will be a magnificent field, by and bye, for engineering. And gloomy and cheerless and apparently valueless as they are at present, even these mangrove forests will, ere long, form a mine of wealth to enterprising colonists; for as their ashes form an excellent alkali for the manufacture of soap, and as tallow will in all likelihood be very cheap at Moreton Bay for a long time to come, there is no doubt that soap-boiling establishments, on a pretty extensive scale, will very soon be formed in that part of the territory.

Above the region of the mangroves the soil and scenery on the banks of the Brisbane rapidly improve, and as we approach the Settlement, twenty-five miles

from its mouth, there are spots of surpassing beauty on both sides of the stream, some of which have already been secured by settlers of taste and enterprise; neat cottages, with gardens abounding in all the productions of the temperate, as well as in most of those of the torrid zone, crowning the picturesque heights along the river, which at one time appears contracted to a comparatively narrow stream, within steep and rocky banks, and at another expands into a broad sheet of glassy water, exhibiting all the romantic beauty of a Highland or Swiss lake.

Brisbane Town, or the Settlement, as it is generally styled in the district, is admirably situated on an elevated ridge of considerable extent, on the north or left bank of the river; and if the Government had only taken advantage of the locality, as might have been done with perfect facility, on the settlement being thrown open for free immigration in the year 1842, a comparatively large population might have been already concentrated on that spot, enjoying all the real advantages of a town residence, and affording all the facilities which a moderately sized town presents to visitors from the country. The extensive and expensive buildings supposed to be necessary for the head-quarters of a Penal Settlement had all been erected in that locality,—a Convict Barrack, a Barrack for troops, a Gaol, a Female Factory or Prison, for female convicts, a Lumber Yard, &c., &c., with quarters for all the officers and employés of the establishment,—and these formed the nucleus of a town, around which it was alike the duty and the policy of the Government to have concentrated the free population on the discontinuance of the penal settlement. But,

1. The Local Government could not guarantee to merchants, store-keepers, mechanics, and others desirous of obtaining town-allotments, and fixing themselves permanently at the head-quarters and principal place of business of the northern division of the territory, that Brisbane Town would either be the seat of Government, or the commercial capital of the district, while no

effort whatever was made to fix upon a proper site for such a capital elsewhere.

2. The Local Government, contrary to a most judicious recommendation of Lord John Russell's, in regard to the prices proper to be fixed on building allotments in inland towns, fixed £100 an acre as the minimum price of such allotments in the town of Brisbane; and in such a state of uncertainty as to the site of the future capital of the district, this price was in most cases out of the question.

3. The Local Government neglected to provide any means of conveyance across the river to Brisbane Town, which is situated on the wrong side of the Brisbane for intercourse with the interior; and travellers from the latter had consequently to leave their horses and draught cattle and drays on the opposite side, and cross over themselves in a ferry-boat. For as the Brisbane River is 438 yards, or very nearly a quarter of a mile, in breadth at Brisbane Town, it was a serious matter—in the infancy of the settlement, when every person was struggling for himself, and the Government furnished no means of conveyance—to get across with horses and draught cattle. Even so late as the month of December, 1845, I had to wait from nine o'clock in the morning to nearly four in the afternoon, till I could get my horse ferried over from Brisbane Town, in the miserable apparatus even then available for the purpose. In this way a local interest was established on the South side of the river, where the Government was moved to lay off and sell building-allotments, at a somewhat lower minimum price—in a perfect swamp, however, liable to fearful inundations. Now the locating of a population in a situation so unsafe and so insalubrious, when it was the obvious interest of the Government to have concentrated that population on a spot in the immediate neighbourhood, in the highest degree salubrious and beyond the reach of inundations, might have been obviated with the utmost facility by merely placing a punt with a strong cable across the river on the ferry to Brisbane Town. That punt could have secured access

at all times, and at a comparatively trifling expense, to the Government town; and the Government could have sold it, perhaps at its prime cost, and derived a considerable annual revenue thereafter from the ferry, in six or twelve months, leaving no inducement to any person to settle in the swamp.

4. At the opposite extremity of the town of Brisbane, the river makes a sharp bend at a place called Kangaroo Point on the opposite bank, forming a peninsula right opposite the township, and separated from it merely by the river. But the land on that side was regarded merely as country land, and was disposable at the Government land sales at a minimum price of not more than a pound an acre. Such a circumstance was not likely to escape the notice of one or other of those long-headed people who find their way occasionally to the colonies; and consequently a countryman of mine, of this description, Mr. (now Sir Evan) Mackenzie, who resided for sometime as a Squatter at Moreton Bay, purchased the land at Kangaroo Point, at little more than the minimum price, and subdividing it into building-allotments for those who wished to have a fixed place of residence in the neighbourhood, but who could not afford to pay £100 an acre for a building-allotment across the river, formed a third town as a rival to the two Government towns of North and South Brisbane.

There are thus three insignificant and rival towns, with all the disadvantages of a scattered population residing far from each other, on the opposite banks of a broad river, where the whole of that population might, with the utmost facility, have been concentrated into one respectable and flourishing town, directing its united means and energies towards the attainment of any common object alike interesting and important to all. Such an object is the plentiful supply of water for a town population; for there are very few localities, however admirably adapted otherwise for a town, in which there is a sufficient supply of pure water on the spot for a large population, and the town of Brisbane

is no exception to this general rule. Such an object also is the support of an effective Police, which is absolutely necessary in a country just emerging from the condition of a Penal Settlement, but which can never be kept up with the requisite efficiency, for a scattered population inhabiting a series of insignificant villages at even a short distance from each other. Such an object is the education of the people; for whereas one or more respectable schools can always be maintained with very little support *ab externo* in a respectable town, it is always a matter of question whether a school of any kind can be maintained at all in an insignificant village; the situation of the school-master in such localities being generally as low as his intellectual abilities, and the best interests of the youth in the vicinity being compromised and ruined. Such an object is the moral and religious instruction of the people; for the same amount of clerical superintendence, especially in a semitropical climate like that of Moreton Bay, will prove equally available for three times the amount of population in a respectable town, as compared with a population scattered about in small distant villages. During the two Sabbaths I officiated twice a-day at Brisbane Town, I had comparatively large congregations, composed chiefly of families and individuals of the Presbyterian communion, resident in all the three towns—North Brisbane, South Brisbane, and Kangaroo Point. But it was the first time a Presbyterian minister had ever visited the district, and consequently an extraordinary occasion. But I saw plainly, from the mooted question, whether the future church for that section of the population should not be placed on the South side of the river rather than on the North, that such a state of things would not be permanent, and that the handful of people of any one communion in any one of these petty towns would very soon consider itself equally entitled to a church and a minister of its own with either of the others. Now if these churches and ministers are to be in connexion with the State (which any body of reli-

gionists may be in New South Wales, where the law of the land proclaims all religions to be alike, and all equally deserving of public support) the Government will eventually be cheated out of the requisite funds for erecting an Episcopal Church, a Presbyterian Church, a Wesleyan Church, a Roman Catholic Church, and a Jewish Synagogue, the five Establishments of the Colony, and for supporting a minister of each of these five communions for each of these insignificant towns, when one church and minister for each communion would have been amply sufficient for all, had the population been concentrated. On the other hand, if these ministers, like myself, deem it incumbent upon them to protest against the monstrous principle I have just mentioned, as being latitudinarian, antichristian, and infidel in its character, and subversive in its tendency of all morality and religion, and refuse to receive State support on any such degrading conditions, how can the mere handful of people he will find in any one of these insignificant towns be expected to contribute at all adequately for his support?

Besides, public opinion, even in New South Wales, is much more powerful for good in a town of moderate size than in an insignificant village. During my last journey overland from Sydney to Port Phillip, in the month of January 1846, I ascertained that in the petty village of Albury, on the Hume River, the annual races for the district (for in New South Wales every district must have its races) had been held very shortly before I passed through it; that the principal day of the races had been the Lord's day, or the Christian Sabbath, and that on that day, that conservator of public morals, the publican of the place, had been compelled, notwithstanding his own strong remonstrances (for he would have been in danger of losing his license if he had done it of his own accord) to supply the racers with rum from a bucket on the race-ground. I ascertained also, when at Brisbane, Moreton Bay, that the gentlemen Squatters in that part of the territory are occasionally, when they visit the town, very dissipated

in their habits, very extravagant in every sense of the word, and very uproarious. For instance, on a comparatively recent occasion, when some of them were sitting drinking and roistering in a public-house in one of the three little towns I have enumerated, one of them betted that he would leap his horse over the table around which they were then sitting, and accordingly, his bet being accepted, he entered the apartment very shortly thereafter, mounted, booted, and spurred in due form. But the ceiling not having been calculated for such flights, either of fancy or of horsemanship, the man and horse came down, like Phaeton, right upon the table. Now such discreditable scenes as either of these could not have occurred either in Sydney, or in any town of half its size in the Colony: public opinion would have prevented such enormities.

From the neglect of the Government in not establishing a commercial port and capital in the Bay at the proper time, interests have sprung up at Brisbane Town in opposition to that measure altogether. There are only about seven feet of water on the bar and the flats at the mouth of the Brisbane River; and yet it is now alleged that a dredging machine would open the channel, and keep it clear for all time coming, and that Brisbane Town ought therefore to be continued as the capital of the District. But even although the bar and flats should be made available for the navigation of large vessels, it would be most unreasonable to compel people who had come down perhaps from the head of the Clarence or the Richmond River, first to thread the long and tortuous channel of the Bay from its northern entrance, and afterwards to ascend another river before they reached the capital of the district. In short, although the procedure of the Local Government in regard to Brisbane Town has been most impolitic and unjustifiable all along, and likely to be productive of much inconvenience and loss to the inhabitants generally, it would be still more unjustifiable and impolitic to make that locality the capital of the territory.

The Government buildings for the Penal Establishment at Brisbane Town are fast falling into ruin ; and it is difficult to conceive, either there or any where else in the District, what the convicts could have been employed in, besides the erection of these useless buildings, for nearly twenty years together. There were at one time not fewer than eleven hundred convicts at Moreton Bay ; and yet, with the exception of a pleasure-drive for the officers of about three or four miles along the banks of the river, there has never been a mile of road made in any direction in the District ! It could not be pretended, in excuse for this neglect, that the future lines of communication, when the District should be thrown open to free immigration, could not be foreseen ; for as soon as the Darling Downs had been discovered by Mr. Cunningham in 1827, and especially as soon as a practicable passage across the mountains had also been discovered by that gentleman in 1828, it might have been foreseen by the merest ignoramus, that population and commerce would infallibly take that direction. But so very obvious an idea appears never to have struck either the authorities at Moreton Bay, or those at Head Quarters, and consequently no attempt was ever made to form a road in that direction—nothing in short was ever done during the whole period of the existence of the place as a Penal Settlement, that has either proved, or was ever likely to prove, of the slightest benefit to the Colonists on its becoming free. The Government farm, in the clearing and cultivation of which thousands and tens of thousands of British money were expended, had been so injudiciously selected, in point of soil, that it scarcely brought more when finally disposed of, than the minimum price of waste land. Parties of convicts had been employed in cutting and rafting down cedar for sale in Sydney, from the rivers at the southern extremity of the Bay, but large quantities of that cedar were piled up and left to rot on the beach at Dunwich. Even the Government Garden, on which the officers of the Settlement had, for their own sakes, bestowed great at-

tention—expending upon it the labour of upwards of twenty convicts, and which might have proved of real utility to the free colonists in supplying them with trees, and shrubs, and plants of all kinds, if the slightest attention had been paid to it, in keeping it up—was allowed to revert to its original condition of a mere wilderness, when the Penal Establishment was discontinued, and had long been overrun with couch-grass, and transformed into a grazing paddock when I visited the Settlement.

The view from the summit of the Windmill Hill, near Brisbane Town, is one of the finest I have seen in the colony. Lofty mountain ranges in the distance shut in the scene to the northward, and westward, and southward, while detached hills of various elevations are scattered over the intervening country in all directions. The noble river, which winds almost under foot, and appears and disappears and appears again as it pursues its tortuous course through the dark forest to the Bay, or is traced upwards towards its sources, presents ever and anon points of view surpassingly beautiful; the thick brushes on its banks, with the majestic Moreton Bay Pine overtopping all the other giants of the forest, merely indicating the spots of extraordinary fertility where the hand of man will ere long transform the wilderness into smiling farms and fruitful fields. For, as yet, man can scarcely be said to have invaded the vast wilderness of this part of the territory, and his works appear diminutive in the extreme when thus contrasted with the grandeur and sublimity of nature—with the dark green mantle of her loneliness wrapped around her.

There is much land of very inferior quality near Brisbane Town, on both sides of the river, but particularly on the South side; the tract from Brisbane to Ipswich or the Limestone Hills—situated at the head of the navigation of the Bremer, a distance of twenty-five miles by land and fifty by the two rivers—being absolutely sterile, with the exception of a small plain of a few thousand acres in extent, called Cowper's

Plains, about ten miles from Brisbane. On approaching the river, however, at Red Bank—the residence of Dr. Simpson, Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Moreton Bay District—the country improves, and the alluvial land, on the banks of the river, which, however, is not of great extent and very thickly timbered, is of the richest description. Dr. Simpson is a gentleman of cultivated mind and manners, who has travelled much and read more; but, I am happy to add, there are many gentlemen of this description in the district of Moreton Bay. Dr. Simpson's residence is in the usual bush style—a rustic cottage formed of rough slabs, roofed either with bark or shingles, but more frequently with the former, with a verandah in front and out-buildings to match. The site, which has been selected with great taste, is on a ridge overlooking a beautiful bend of the river, and Dr. Simpson has spared neither pains nor expense in forming a most picturesque garden in a natural hollow, where the soil consists of the richest alluvial land, intervening between the house and the river; leaving the more ornamental bush trees of the natural forest to give interest and variety to the scene, and to contrast with European potherbs and the other exotic vegetation of the garden. With the natural history and appearance of one of these relicts of the ancient forest, the Moreton Bay fig-tree, which I then saw for the first time, I was remarkably struck. This tree bears a species of fig, which I was told (for it was not in season at the time) is by no means unpalatable, and of which it seems both the black natives and the bronze-winged pigeons of the Australian forest are equally fond. The latter frequently deposit the seeds with their dung in the forks or natural hollows of forest trees, where the seeds take root and very soon throw down a number of slender twigs or tendrils all round the tree, from a height perhaps of twenty or thirty feet, to the ground—being apparently a harmless parasite, which it would be unfeeling to disturb. As soon, however, as these tendrils reach the earth, they all successively strike root into the soil, and anon present the

appearance of a number of props or stays around an old rickety building, or rather of a rising favourite at court gradually supplanting his predecessor and benefactor, who has brought him into notice, in the good graces of his sovereign, and finally accomplishing his ruin. The fate of the parent-tree that has nourished these step-children is either speedy or protracted according to its nature; but nothing in the Australian forest can long resist the fatal embrace of the native fig-tree, and the tree around which it has thus sprung into parasitical life is doomed eventually to die. The tendrils, which have then perhaps attained the thickness of a man's limb, or it may be of his body, intertwine their branches, and gradually filling up by their lateral expansion the hollow left by the wasting away of the parent-tree, exhibit at length a gigantic specimen of Australian vegetation. I afterwards met with one of these trees in the rich alluvial land on Breakfast Creek, a few miles from Brisbane, on the north side of the river. I could not ascertain its height, but it measured 42 feet in circumference at five feet from the ground. At that height, spurs were thrown out from it at an angle of 45 degrees all round. The specimen in Dr. Simpson's garden had fortunately attached itself to an iron-tree—the hardest and heaviest species of timber in the district. The parent-tree, which was still in life and in vigorous vegetation, may have been 18 inches in diameter, and the tendrils which clasped it round so affectionately were each only about the thickness of a man's leg; but the iron-tree was evidently doomed to die under the resistless grasp of this ungrateful parasite, and it required no stretch of fancy to imagine the agony it was suffering, or to liken it to a goat or deer dying under the horrible embrace of a boa constrictor or polar bear.

Ipswich or Limestone is a well-chosen site for an inland town, being situated at the head of the navigation of the Bremer River, and on the direct route to the Darling Downs, by Cunningham's Gap. From Ipswich the Bremer pursues a tortuous course, between steep

banks, for about twelve miles, to the Brisbane River, and a small steamer has very recently been placed on the course between Brisbane Town and Ipswich. The Bremer is subject to floods, and has been known to rise 53 feet above its ordinary level; but the Brisbane being much wider, the water, in times of inundation, escapes much more freely, and the floods on that river are consequently not nearly so high. Limestone Plains, in the immediate vicinity of Ipswich, are a tract of land almost destitute of timber, of the richest deep black mould, and of uncommon fertility. The distance to the foot of the mountains is only thirty-eight miles, and quite level throughout; and at eighteen miles from Ipswich there are other Plains, similar to those at Limestone, called Normanby Plains, containing an area of 40,000 to 50,000 acres. The advantages of such a locality for an agricultural settlement, close to a navigable river and on the great highway to the western interior, must be self-evident.

Like all other towns either founded or projected by Sir George Gipps, within the vast territory of New South Wales, Ipswich is entirely destitute of that most interesting, useful, and important feature of all Spanish and Portuguese towns in the New World—a square or open area in the centre of the town. I was told, indeed, that the Surveyor who planned the town of Ipswich had laid off a square in the original plan which was submitted to the Governor; but His Excellency disapproved of it! There was no need of such a thing. His Excellency thought. It was too large an extent of Crown Land to sacrifice, merely for the comfort and convenience of the people, in a territory only 2000 miles square! Or, perhaps, it might hereafter tempt the inhabitants to hold “monster meetings” in the open air, to pass votes of censure on indifferent Governors, or to learn “the manual exercise.” At all events, neither Ipswich, nor any other town in the territory with the making of which Sir George Gipps had anything to do, has been allowed to have a public square of any kind within its boundaries; and this at a time,

too, when the subject of forming public squares and other such places of concourse and recreation for the inhabitants of large towns in England was actually before the Imperial Parliament, and in a climate, moreover, in which open spaces of this kind in the centre of towns is incomparably more necessary for the public health and comfort than at home. But this is only one instance, of a thousand that might easily be produced, of the wisdom with which the Colonies are governed!

Ipswich is a rising and thriving village, and must evidently, at no distant period, become a place of no small importance. Some time previous to my visit, a barge had been placed on the course, to convey produce to Brisbane by water, and to bring up supplies; and although many of the Squatters on the Downs still directed their drays to proceed on to Brisbane, rather than incur the additional expense of carriage by the barge, there had been forwarded notwithstanding by that conveyance, during the half-year ending 31st April 1845, 615 bales of wool, 465 sheep skins, 1 cask of tallow, and 12 hides. This was doubtless a very fair commencement for the trade of an inland town; but now that a steamboat has been placed on the course, to ply regularly every alternate day, the quantity of produce forwarded from Ipswich by water must be greatly increased. Indeed, the people in business at Brisbane are already somewhat jealous of the growing importance of Ipswich, and not without good reason; for, in the event of a commercial port being established in the Bay, either at Toorbal or at Cleveland Point, the wool and other produce from the interior would unquestionably be all shipped direct for that port from Ipswich, without being landed at Brisbane at all. In the prospect of such an arrangement, which I conceive is the natural and necessary one, the attempt of the Local Government to induce people to buy town allotments at a high minimum price, either at North or South Brisbane, under the idea that the principal Port and Settlement of the district is to be in that lo-

cality, is something like an attempt to cozen them out of their money. And surely, neither her Majesty's service, nor the interests of this great Empire, can ever stand in need of such petty deceit, of such miserable stratagems.

I reached Ipswich on a Thursday morning, and left it again, to perform Divine Service at Brisbane on the following Sabbath, on the morning of Saturday. Ascertaining, however, in the course of Friday, that there were a few Presbyterians in the place, and that other Protestants residing there would not be unwilling to attend Protestant service in the evening, I intimated that there would be service, and officiated accordingly in the large room of an unfinished building, intended for an inn, to an extempore congregation of from forty to fifty persons, some of whom (convicts from the Government Stock-farm on the Plains,) I was informed, declared, that they had never been present at divine service before, since they arrived in the Colony. I have often thought such services partook much more of an apostolic character, in regard at least to their accompaniments, than those that are solemnized in large cities, with all the paraphernalia of gowns and bands, a handsome church and perhaps an organ, with a congregation of worshippers of staid and steady habits, each with his well-known face in his own peculiar pew, assembled slowly at the ringing of a bell. And whenever I have heard others talking of their apostolic pedigree or succession, as a matter of indispensable necessity for the Colonies, as if the qualities of a minister of Christ were to be ascertained, like those of a horse, from his description in the Stud-book, I have always said, "Give me the apostolic practice, and men who will exemplify it thoroughly in their own, as the only specific for the moral welfare and advancement of this Colony."

I was much struck with a circumstance mentioned to me in conversation, more than twenty years ago, by my deceased friend, the Australian traveller, Mr. Alan Cunningham, the discoverer of the Darling

Downs and the Gap. "I always carry with me," he observed, "on my journeys into the interior, a small bagful of peach stones; and whenever I find a piece of good soil in the wilderness, I cause it to be dug up, and drop in a few, in the hope of thus providing a meal for some famished European, who may have lost his way in the wilderness, or some hungry black-fellow." It was a beautiful indication of a truly benevolent disposition; and I resolved at the time to learn from it the important lesson of endeavouring at least to do good to one's fellow-creatures, wherever there is a fair opportunity.

The principal inn at Ipswich, for it is not the only one, is kept by a Mr. George Thorn, a veteran soldier, formerly Superintendent of the Government herds in the neighbourhood. For the style and manner in which it is kept, it would bear a favourable comparison with many in England. There was one circumstance indeed, in which it was remarkably different from any English inn, in which I have ever had the usual "warm welcome" of these establishments; for on asking for my bill before returning to Brisbane, I was told that I had nothing to pay. I had experienced the same thing from a countryman of my own at Port Phillip, the opposite extremity of the Colony, upwards of eleven hundred miles distant, only a few months before; but as there was considerable political excitement in the latter district at that period, with which I was somewhat connected, it did not take me so much by surprise. I understood I was indebted for this compliment at Ipswich, to the satisfaction of my worthy host with the manner in which I had discharged my duty to the Colony, as a member of the Legislative Council.

On the 10th of December, 1845, Henry Wade, Esq., one of the Government Surveyors of the District of Moreton Bay, very kindly accompanied me on an excursion to the North Pine River, about thirty miles to the northward of Brisbane. Although there is a considerable extent of indifferent land on the north side of the Brisbane River, as well as on the south, the

country to the northward is much more generally interspersed with patches of good land, fit for cultivation, than the sterile tract between Brisbane Town and Ipswich on the south, and even the indifferent land on the north side affords tolerable pasture. On the banks of Breakfast Creek, about four miles from Brisbane, there is a belt of alluvial land of superior quality on either side, and there are spots all along on which industrious families from the mother-country could very easily establish themselves in comfort and independence; but the general character of the country, as far as the South Pine River, fourteen miles from Brisbane, is at best but indifferent.

The Pine River is properly an arm of the sea, leading up from the Bay, and navigable for twenty miles from its entrance. The North and South Pine Rivers are two independent streams, which unite their waters at the head of the navigation; being evidently mighty torrents in seasons of rain, but insignificant streams, scarcely running at all, in periods of drought. It had been such a period, during the year 1845: it was the driest and hottest season that had been known at Moreton Bay, no rain to speak of having fallen for four months previous to my visit, and the whole quantity that had fallen during the year up to the 10th of December having been only 24 inches, while the average of the two previous years had been much higher. On that day, however, it commenced raining in right earnest, as if to make up for the deficiency of the previous portion of the year. In crossing from the South to the North Pine, my fellow-traveller and myself were caught in a thunder-storm, the awful grandeur of which can scarcely be conceived by persons who have never been in a lower latitude than 50° ; the loud artillery of heaven pealing tremendously around us, and reverberating from hill to hill, and the lightning flashing incessantly.* During the last eight miles of our jour-

**Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether. Virg. Aen. l.*

ney, from the North Pine River to the Squatter's Station, to which we were bound, the rain fell in buckets-full, and we were completely drenched in a few minutes. For ten days thereafter, it rained almost constantly, with a few hours only of interval, on two or three of these days, and the drooping vegetation of the country immediately revived. Indeed, the transition from a state of apparent death in the vegetable kingdom to a state of the most vigorous health, is, in such circumstances, rapid beyond conception in such a climate as that of Moreton Bay—especially, as was the case in this instance, at midsummer.

On crossing the South Pine River, the country improves rapidly, and along both banks of the North Pine, and for a considerable distance on either side of it, it is rich and beautiful in an eminent degree; consisting of hill and dale, exhibiting the finest pasture imaginable for sheep and cattle, with many grassy flats, of from twenty to fifty acres each, almost without a tree, and ready for the plough. It is a country admirably adapted for small farmers, being equally suited for pasture and for cultivation; and in the event of the principal commercial Port for the district being established at Toorbal Point, it will be close to the capital.

On the banks of the South Pine River, where we halted for a few minutes to water our horses, on our return to Brisbane, we gathered a number of wild raspberries in the thick brush or jungle. They resemble those of Europe in appearance; but in such situations, being screened both from the sun-light and the fresh air by the surrounding vegetation, they are rather insipid. In other and more open situations they are much better. Wild strawberries, resembling those of Europe, were also frequent; and beautiful flowering shrubs, of an infinite variety, were wasting both their beauty and their fragrance on the desert air. There is a species of native currant very frequently met with in this part of the country, very different, however, from that of New South Wales. It is black in colour, of a mild agreeable flavour, and as large as the black cur-

rant of Europe; the native currant of New South Wales being of a green colour when ripe, much smaller, and exceedingly acid.

The Squatter to whose station we were bound, on the North Pine River, and from whom we experienced a most cordial reception, was Captain Griffin, a respectable ship-master, whose family had for many years been members of my congregation in Sydney, but who had finally removed to the Squatting Station at Moreton Bay, on which two of his sons had been located for two or three years previous, only about six months before the period of my visit. For a whole family to remove from any sea-port town in England to a farm six hundred miles off, without having had any previous experience in farming operations, would be thought passing strange in the mother-country, and would be universally regarded as a species of folly very much akin to madness. But it is thought nothing of, and is quite a matter of common occurrence, in New South Wales. I have found families and individuals who had been members of my congregation in Sydney for years, settled on farms or squatting stations as far off in the opposite direction. In short, the operations of farming and squatting are so easily learned in New South Wales, and the climate does so much for those who are really disposed to do anything for themselves, that there is no great mystery in the matter after all. At all events, a country life must surely be much more congenial to the habits and dispositions of the great bulk of mankind than a town life; for people of all classes of society, and of all professions and occupations, take to it in these Australian colonies, with a pliancy and facility perfectly astonishing. I have frequently observed, however, that sea-faring men, whether of the Royal or mercantile navy, generally succeed much better as settlers or squatters in the Australian Colonies than military men. The latter are too much under authority in their previous life, and too rarely left to their own resources, to acquire that independence of mind and that ability to act for one's self in cases of emergency,

that are so valuable—so indispensable—to a man placed in circumstances so entirely new. Sea-faring men, on the contrary, being brought up, as it were, to wage incessant war with the elements, are more frequently thrown upon their own resources, are more fertile in expedients, and better able to act for themselves on occasions of emergency. In short, a military life appears to me to be just as indifferent a school for training settlers and squatters as it is for training Governors. The latter are constantly looking to Lord Stanley, their superior officer, for the word of command, instead of acting for themselves, like men of vigorous understandings and a spirit of independence; while the former, on occasions of emergency, too often don't know well what to do.

Captain Griffin and his three sons, who had all equally with himself been brought up to the sea, seemed to take remarkably well with a bush life. One of the young men was off at their sheep-station, about ten miles distant, a second was looking after the cattle and horses, and, as soon as there was a blink of sunshine, the third was out with the bullocks, ploughing the wheat stubble land for a crop of maize or Indian corn; while the Captain seemed pretty much as of yore on his own quarter-deck, peering about everywhere to see that all was right, and keeping every person, whether son or hired servant, to his duty. Mrs. Griffin, a native of the Orkney Islands, being, it appeared, more easily spared from the Station at the busiest time of the year, than either her husband or any of her sons, and having considerable tact and ability, moreover, in the management of affairs, was unfortunately absent in Sydney at the time, *a distance of six hundred miles*, transacting business for the establishment, and procuring supplies; but I could not help observing with interest sundry evidences of her good management as a housewife during the six months she had been on the station, especially in the refreshing appearance which the poultry-yard presented to a pair of hungry travellers, and in the prospect it afforded of excellent cheer. There were

whole colonies of turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls, (of the large Malay breed,) rabbits and pigs—all foraging for themselves, and all apparently happy under the protection of man from the inroads of the native dogs and cats of the neighbouring glen of the North Pine River. These are rare appendages to a Squatting Station, especially if the proprietor is a bachelor; but they are easily procurable anywhere, and minister greatly to the comfort and subsistence of a respectable family: and in the hands of industrious people, in a favourable situation, they are sure to prove a considerable source of wealth. I was amused at seeing a turkey-cock marching up from the ploughed land, where he had been foraging for insects and worms, with a family of sixteen young turkeys behind him, and on referring to Captain Griffin for an explanation of the phenomenon, he observed, smiling, “We allow of no idlers here. Mrs. G. set the hen turkey on a fresh set of eggs before she went to Sydney, and the cock is *keeping her watch on deck for her*, as she is doing duty below.” Turkeys, it seems, cannot be reared at Brisbane Town; the schistus rock in that neighbourhood, which they probably swallow for the trituration of their food, being perhaps unfavourable for their constitution, or not adapted for that purpose in the animal economy of the bird. I allude to these minutiae the more particularly, because it appears to me they have been hitherto unaccountably neglected by a large proportion of the settlers in New South Wales, and especially by those of the humbler classes; to many of whom the rearing of pigs and poultry might have proved not only a means of subsistence but a source of wealth.

Captain Griffin’s Squatting Station is picturesquely situated on the side of a hill, with the glen of the North Pine River to the right, and a *haugh*, as it would be termed in Scotland—an alluvial flat formed from the successive depositions of the river in times of flood during a long course of ages—behind. It was this flat that he had in cultivation for the subsistence of the Station—partly in wheat, partly in maize, and partly in barley and potatoes; for all these productions, and

many others that I shall enumerate hereafter, grow luxuriantly even in the latitude of 27° South, and yield a fair average produce. But the pasture, for the sheep and cattle of the establishment, was the principal consideration; and consisting, as the *run* did, of the hill and dale country I have described, covered with a rich coating of grass and remarkably well-watered, that was abundant. Captain Griffin had been rather unfortunate in the first instance with his sheep; for a flock, belonging to Sir Evan Mackenzie of Kilcoy, Baronet, affected with the scab, had, contrary to the law of the land in that case provided, been driven across Captain Griffin's run by some careless or ill-disposed shepherd, and had infected the whole of his flocks. It had taken two years and much trouble and expense to cure them, but the disease had at length been effectually got under, and the increase during the year had been 85 per cent.

Captain Griffin's house was of the same primitive character as those of squatters generally, consisting of rough slabs fixed in sleepers below, and in a grooved wall-plate above, and roofed with large sheets of bark, supported by rough saplings for rafters. Mahogany tables, chairs, side-boards, &c., and the other moveables of a respectable family in a town, appeared rather incongruous articles of furniture in such an extempore structure; but they gave promise at least of a better house, which I was told it was intended to erect as soon as the more important out-door operations of the establishment should afford the requisite leisure for the purpose, the present house being intended eventually for the barn. I was amused at the ingenious nautical expedient that had been had recourse to to form an additional apartment. The carpet which the family had had in use in their dining-room in Sydney was "triced up," to use the nautical phrase, during the day, to the wall-plate of the slab-house; but on the usual signal of "Let go the haulyards," being given at the proper hour for retirement at night, the carpet descended like the curtain of a theatre, and not only formed a partition between the sitting-room and a commo-

dious bed-room, but stretching, as it did, along the whole extent of the slab-wall of the latter, served to exclude the cold night wind which would otherwise have found a thousand entrances by the interstices between the slabs. These indeed were so numerous as to render the formality of a window quite unnecessary, and a work of supererogation. As being the greater stranger on the occasion, the use of this bed-room, in which I found a Colonial cedar post-bed, with the usual furniture of a respectable bed-room in a town, was, in the absence of the lady of the house, assigned to me; my fellow-traveller being accommodated with a stretcher in a detached building along with Captain G.'s sons. On the whole, I was much gratified with my visit to this recently formed Squatting-Station so far to the northward; as it showed how very comfortably a respectable family could be settled in the bush, with comparatively moderate means and exertion, in Australia, with all their flocks and herds around them, like the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of old. I question indeed, whether any of these patriarchs was ever more comfortably lodged than Captain Griffin; for I should certainly prefer an Australian slab-house roofed with bark to a tent, however patriarchal. At all events, although any one of these eminent patriarchs would doubtless have been most willing to have treated my fellow-traveller and myself to a kid of the goats, or a fatted-calf and a cake baked in the ashes—which in Australia is usually styled a damper*—I am quite sure that not one of them could have added to the entertainment the never-failing and universally acceptable beverage of the bush in Australia—a comfortable cup of tea.

A day or two after my return to Brisbane, Mr. Wade very kindly offered to accompany me in his boat on an excursion up the river, that I might be enabled to form some idea of the capabilities of the country

* This appellation is said to have originated somehow with Dampier, the celebrated Navigator.

along its banks; and accordingly, on the day appointed, we embarked, having four black natives along with us to row the boat, and to search for game on the banks. The names of the natives were Gnunnumbah, Tomboorrowa, and Dunkly; the fourth being a mere boy about twelve years of age, who had no name. Mr. Wade having informed me, however, that the boy would take it as a great compliment if I would give him a name, and would bear it ever after, I proposed that we should call him Sydney—a name with which he seemed highly pleased, and to which he responded as a matter of course during our excursion. Gnunnumbah was a tall, intelligent black-fellow, who usually resided at the pilot station at Amity Point, and was well acquainted with the management of a boat. He had a jacket and trowsers like a European sailor, and as a proof of his not being altogether deficient in curiosity—having observed that I occasionally took a pencil and made memoranda of any interesting information I had received, or of any thing I had observed in the course of our excursion—he asked Mr. Wade, when I was absent for a few minutes reconnoitring a portion of the bush where we had landed to take some refreshment, “What for Commandant yacca paper?” What is the gentleman working at the paper for? As a matter of courtesy they call every respectable European stranger *Commandant*, that having been the designation of the principal officer of the Settlement when it was a mere receptacle for twice-transported felons. The other black-fellows of the party were all evidently much less acquainted with the habits of civilized life, and they were all equally innocent of clothing of any kind whatever. Tomboorrowa, however, was a fine, stout, good-looking man; his breast, arms, and legs were much marked with the cicatrices or ornamental scars which they are in the habit of forming upon their persons, partly by way of decoration, and partly as the distinctive mark or armorial bearing of their respective tribes; each having a peculiar form of cicatrix, which is as well known among them as the tartan of

any particular Highland clan. The scars are formed by means of a pretty deep incision of the form required, made with a muscle-shell ; the lips of the wound being kept open till the flesh rises between them, so that the new skin appears considerably elevated above the surrounding surface. The limbs of the first black native of the District whom I happened to see, in the pilot's boat at the southern entrance of the Bay, were so regularly, so tastefully, and so completely covered with this species of ornament, that not having a full view of his person at the time, I actually thought for a minute or two, till he leaped upon the deck of the steamboat *in puris naturalibus*, that his lower garment was of flowered satin. Tomboorrowa had his long black hair, which was most abundant, done up in a peculiar style ; it was plaited or twisted all round into long ringlets, resembling the thrums of a mop. Happening to observe casually to Mr. Wade, as the natives were sitting around the fire we made in the bush, when we landed in the course of the day, that I should like to have one of the thrums to take home as a curiosity to England, Mr. W. took a pair of scissors and cut one of them out, which he gave me. Tomboorrowa exhibited no resentment towards Mr. W. for this "Rape of the Lock," but he exhibited in his countenance the utmost apprehension as to the use to which I was likely to apply it, and was evidently under the idea that I would use it in some process of sorcery, of which he would be the victim. I could not of course allow the poor fellow to entertain such an idea, however unfounded, and gave him the thrum, which at once restored his tranquillity of mind.

For some distance above Brisbane, the river is considerably wider than at the Settlement, and where the banks on one side are high and rocky, as is often the case in the lower part of its course, there is generally a considerable extent of level alluvial land, formed by successive depositions from the river in times of flood, on the opposite side. These constitute what are called the *brushes*, in which the soil is of the richest descrip-

tion, and the vegetation much more varied and vigorous than on the forest-land, beyond the reach of floods. These flats are found along the whole course of the main river and its various tributaries, and in the higher parts of its course they are both more frequent and more extensive than in the lower. There would be much less difficulty also in clearing them than I at first apprehended there would be, and they would prove admirable localities for the settlement of small farmers to raise the various productions suited to the district; having each either a portion of the forest-land attached to the alluvial, or liberty to depasture a few cattle upon it. In short, I cannot conceive any thing either in natural or in moral scenery more interesting and beautiful than this noble river would unquestionably be, if its banks were thus lined with the neat cottages and well-cultivated farms of a happy peasantry. At present there is every thing in the disposition of land and water that the lover of the picturesque and beautiful could desire; and pity it is that such a region should be lying entirely waste and unoccupied, when there are so many thousands of our fellow-countrymen struggling with poverty and privations at home!

When we reached a certain point of our course, where the river makes a remarkable bend, and forms a sort of peninsula, Mr. Wade gave Tomboorrowa and little Sydney a gun and some ammunition, desiring them to cross the neck of the peninsula, and meet us at another point considerably farther up, which he indicated, with whatever game they might chance to fall in with by the way. On our reaching the point referred to, the black fellows had arrived, but without any game, with the exception of a beautifully marked carpet-snake of about four feet long, which Sydney had struck and stunned, but which was still alive. He threw it, as it was, into the bottom of the boat, and the creature beginning to crawl about, I was withdrawing instinctively as far as possible from so apparently dangerous a vicinity, when the black fellows observed, "That fellow no bite,"—meaning that his

bite was not dangerous. When we had reached the highest point of the river to which our excursion was to extend, we went ashore on one of the alluvial flats on the right bank, and Mr. Wade having given one of the natives a Colonial Lucifer Match which he had provided for the occasion, the latter immediately kindled a fire, of the withered grass and dried branches of trees with which the place abounded.* After partaking of some refreshment, Mr. W. again gave Tomboorowa and Sydney the gun to shoot wild ducks or other game in the bush. In the meantime, one of the other black fellows took the snake, and placing it on the branch of a tree, and striking it on the back of the head repeatedly with a piece of wood, threw it into the fire. The animal was not quite dead, for it wriggled for a minute or two in the fire, and then became very stiff and swollen, apparently from the expansion of the gases imprisoned in its body. The black-fellow then drew it out of the fire, and with a knife cut through the skin longitudinally on both sides of the animal, from the head to the tail. He then coiled it up as a sailor does a rope, and laid it again upon the fire, turning it over again and again with a stick till he thought it sufficiently done on all sides, and superintending the process of cooking with all the interest imaginable. When he thought it sufficiently roasted, he thrust a stick into the coil, and laid it on the grass to cool, and when

* Gnumnumbah asked Mr. Wade for the lucifer match, which he knew beforehand he had provided for the excursion, by making the sign of procuring a light with one, as he probably did not know the English name of it. In their native state they uniformly carry fire with them, as being rather troublesome to procure; but when their fire-stick has been extinguished, as is sometimes the case—for their Jins, or Vestal Virgins, who have the charge of the fire, are not always sufficiently vigilant—they easily “strike a light,” by means of two pieces of wood, the one of a very soft variety of timber, and the other much harder, making a hole in the soft wood, in which they twirl the other piece with great velocity till smoke and flame are produced, and receiving the latter in the soft downy bark of the tea tree (*Mela-leuca*.)

cool enough to admit of handling, he took it up again, wrung off its head and tail which he threw away, and then broke the rest of the animal by the joints of the vertebrae into several pieces, one of which he threw to the other black-fellow, and another he began eating himself with much apparent relish. Neither Mr. Wade nor myself having ever previously had the good fortune to witness the dressing of a snake for dinner by the black natives, we were much interested with the whole operation, and as the steam from the roasting snake was by no means unsavoury, and the flesh delicately white, we were each induced to try a bit of it. It was not unpalatable by any means, although rather fibrous and stringy like ling-fish. Mr. Wade observed, that it reminded him of the taste of eels; but as there was a strong prejudice against the use of eels as an article of food in the west of Scotland in my boyhood, I had never tasted an eel, and was therefore unable to testify to the correctness of this observation. There was doubtless an equally strong prejudice to get over in the case of the snake, and for an hour or two after I had partaken of it, my stomach was ever and anon on the point of insurrection at the very idea of the thing; but thinking it unmanly to yield to such a feeling, I managed to keep it down.

We had scarcely finished the snake when Tomboorowa and little Sydney returned again. They had been more successful this time, having shot two wallabies or brush kangaroos and another carpet-snake of six feet in length. A bundle of rotten branches was instantly gathered and thrown upon the expiring embers of our former fire, and both the wallabies and the snake were thrown into the flame. One of the wallabies had been a female, and as it lay dead on the grass, a young one, four or five inches long, crept out of its pouch. I took up the little creature, and, presenting it to the pouch, it crept in again. Having turned round, however, for a minute or two, Gnumnumbah had taken it up and thrown it alive into the fire; for, when I happened to look towards the fire, I saw it in the flames

in the agony of death. In a minute or two the young wallaby being sufficiently done, Gnunnumbah drew it out of the fire with a stick and eat its hind quarters without further preparation, throwing the rest of it away. It is the etiquette among the black natives for the person who takes the game to conduct the cooking of it. As soon, therefore, as the skins of the wallabies had become stiff and distended from the expansion of the gases in the cavity of their bodies, Tomboorrowa and Sydney each pulled out one of them from the fire, and scraping off the singed hair roughly with the hand, cut up the belly and pulled out the entrails. They then cleaned out the entrails, not very carefully by any means, rubbing them roughly on the grass or on the bushes, and then threw them again upon the fire. When they considered them sufficiently done, the two eat them, a considerable quantity of their original contents remaining to serve as a sort of condiment or sauce. The tails and lower limbs of the two wallabies, when the latter were supposed to be done enough, were twisted off and eaten by the other two natives (from one of whom I got one of the vertebræ of the tail and found it delicious); the rest of the carcasses, with the large snake, being packed up in a Number of the *Sydney Herald* to serve as a mess for the whole camp at Brisbane. The black-fellows were evidently quite delighted with the excursion; and on our return to the Settlement they asked Mr. Wade if he was not going again to-morrow.

CHAPTER V.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF COOKSLAND.

“And Moses sent them to spy out the land . . . and said unto them, Get you up this way southward, . . . and see the land, what it is; . . . whether it be good or bad; . . . whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not. . . . And they returned from searching of the land after forty days. . . . And they told him and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with MILK and HONEY.”—NUMBERS xiii, 17-27.

AMONG the natural productions of this portion of the Australian Territory, I include those for the raising of which, although they may perhaps be considered rather as artificial productions, no species of cultivation is required. It is the distinguishing characteristic of the Australian Colonies, as compared with those of British America and the West Indies, that their vast territory is immediately and directly available for the purposes of man. If the colonist in these regions be a keeper of sheep, like the patriarch Abel, or if, like the sons of Jacob, he have “much cattle,” he has only to rear his tent, or rather his bark hut, in the wilderness, leaving his flocks and herds to range freely around him; for, whether he go to the northward, to the westward, or to the southward, he will be sure to find pasture.

Of all the natural productions of Australia the native grass is, beyond all comparison, the most valuable, and in this valuable production the territory of Cooksland is by no means deficient. Taking into consideration the fact that the district of Moreton Bay was only thrown open for free immigration, on the discontinuance of Transportation to New South Wales, in the year 1841, the extent to which the native pastures of the district have already been occupied by the flocks and herds of enterprising colonists, and the amount of wealth already realized from that one source, will appear truly surprising. The following list of the Exports from Brisbane for the year ending the 31st July 1844, the third year of the existence of Moreton Bay as a free settlement, will exhibit the capabilities of the country in this respect, and its extraordinary powers of production, in the clearest light.

EXPORTS FROM BRISBANE TO SYDNEY FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31st JULY 1844.*

	Fierces Beef.	Hides.	Bales Wool.	Casks Tallow.	Sheep Skins.	Pine Boards.
Per Steamer, . . .	150	431	1184½	243	2238	3418
„ Piscator, } Schooners,			680		70	
„ William, }		19	134	53	1150	
Total,	150	440	1998½	296	2458	3418

The following Return of the Live Stock in the districts of Moreton Bay, Darling Downs, and Clarence River—the country to the Northward of the 30th parallel of South Latitude—for the year 1845, will also exhibit the growing importance of this division of the territory as a pastoral country.

* This is exclusive of the Exports from the Clarence River District.

RETURN of LIVE STOCK in the country to the Northward of the 30th parallel of South Latitude, in the Colony of New South Wales, on the 1st January 1846.

COUNTIES OR DISTRICTS.	DESCRIPTION OF STOCK.			
	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Pigs.	Sheep.
County of Stanley, including the vicinity of the Settlement at Brisbane Town, Brisbane River, . . . }	120	883	286	246
Clarence River District, .	942	27,831	800	148,957
Darling Downs Do. .	424	14,305	30	210,355
Moreton Bay Do. .	584	14,607	72	190,550
Total, .	2070	57,626	1188	550,108

As the export of wool in New South Wales is found to increase annually in the proportion of one-third above that of the year preceding, wherever the extent of pasture-land occupied will admit of the usual increase in the quantity of stock depasturing upon it, the export for the year ending 31st July 1845, agreeably to this ratio, would be 2650 bales, or thereby, and for the year ending 31st July 1846, 3500 bales, or thereby. And this export, it must be recollected, is independent of that of the Clarence District, which is forwarded to Sydney direct. Now, each of these bales will weigh on an average 300 lbs., and at 1s. 6d. per lb., or £22, 10s. per bale, the export of wool alone from the Brisbane River, for the year ending 31st July 1846, would amount in value to £78,750. This increase, I was given to understand, would go on at the same ratio for ten years to come, without taking into account the vast extent of pastoral country recently discovered by Dr. Leichhardt and Sir Thomas Mitchell; there being grass enough in the country previously known for the increasing quantity of stock necessary to yield this increased export. And as a proof that I am not over-estimating the capabilities of the District, the estimate of persons well qualified to offer an opinion on the

subject in New South Wales was, that the exports from Moreton Bay, for the year 1846-1847, would considerably exceed £100,000. Now, I question whether there is any other part of the habitable globe where so small a population as that of Moreton Bay is at this moment raises so large an amount of exportable produce.

The Stations on the Darling Downs are principally sheep stations: to the eastward of the Coast Range, where there is a comparatively large extent of land too low, too moist, and too rich for sheep, there are generally both sheep and cattle at the stations. On the Downs, where the pasture-land is quite clear of timber, from 2000 to 2500 sheep are usually seen in a single flock. This is a great saving of expense to the squatter; for in those parts of the country where the pasture-land is of the character designated by the term "open forest," not more than about 800 sheep can be run in a flock. The Downs are traversed, at moderate distances from each other, by streams, or creeks, as they are called in the colony, rising in the lofty Coast Range and running westward to the Condamine River; and the usual extent of a sheep-run or station is twenty miles in length by six miles in breadth, or three miles on each side of one of these creeks. The extent of the station is therefore 120 square miles. On the east side of the Range towards the coast the stations are not unfrequently quite as large.

The climate of Moreton Bay appears to be remarkably well suited to the constitution of the sheep, although the average weight of the fleece is considerably under that of Port Phillip, ten degrees farther south; the average at Moreton Bay being $2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. and at Port Phillip 3 lbs. It is a problem of the deepest interest to the colony, in an economical point of view, especially since the recent discoveries of Dr. Leichhardt, how far the constitution of the sheep will bear the gradual increase of temperature to the northward in Australia, without occasioning a deterioration in the quality of the wool. Dr. Leichhardt has discovered extensive tracts of country to the northward, far within the

Tropic of Capricorn, admirably adapted for sheep, provided the constitution of the animal will stand the climate, and provided the wool will not degenerate into hair, as it does in other tropical countries. For my own part, as no deterioration has as yet been observed in the wool of sheep depasturing so far north as Wide Bay, in lat. 26° S, I am disposed to believe that sheep may be depastured on land otherwise fit for that description of stock, without materially, if at all, affecting the quality of the wool, to the very northern extremity of the Australian land at Cape York, in lat. $10^{\circ} 37'$ S. But this presumption will, of course, require to be tested by future experiments, the result of which will be interesting in the extreme to the colony.

The adaptation of the district of Moreton Bay to sheep-farming, and the good condition of both sheep and cattle generally in that district, arise from the superior quality, the variety and the abundance of the indigenous vegetation. The greater frequency and abundance of rain in that part of the territory, in consequence of its vicinity to the Tropics, ensures not merely abundance but the greatest variety imaginable in the indigenous vegetation in every department of the vegetable kingdom. As an instance of this variety, Dr. Leichhardt found not fewer than 110 different species of trees, exclusive of parasitical plants and shrubs, in the brush or alluvial flat-land of Moreton Bay, and 27 in the open forest, the number of different species in European forests being generally not greater than ten or twelve; and along only thirty paces of a cattle-track at Limestone Plains, near Ipswich, Dr. L. and Mr. Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Kent of Moreton Bay (to whom I am indebted for the information), found not fewer than *seventeen different species of grass in seed at the same time*, independently of whatever additional number might have passed their usual seed-time or not have arrived at it. In short, the superior quality of soil, in any particular instance, and its peculiar adaptation to all the purposes of man, are to be ascertained not so much from the abundance as from

the variety of the vegetation deriving nourishment from it.

Sheep average from 70 to 80 lbs., and cattle 13 to 14 cwt. at Moreton Bay, and whereas the usual allowance of the average run of pasture-land for the grazing of a sheep in New South Wales is $3\frac{1}{3}$ acres, or three sheep to every ten acres, Mr. Commissioner Kent, while in charge of the Government stock at the Bay, was able to keep 6000 sheep in good condition for eighteen months together on 5000 acres of land. This was done at a station on the Logan River, where, as also on its principal tributary, the Albert, there is a large extent of land of the first quality, as well for cultivation as for pasture; there being as much as 100,000 acres of such land in one locality on that river in a single block. And as the head waters of the Logan take their rise on the opposite sides of Mount Lindsay, which rises to the height of nearly 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and issue from the mountain in delightfully cool streams warbling over a pebbly bed, the scene is not less picturesque and beautiful than the land is well adapted either for pasture or for cultivation.

There is already a considerable export of beef cured at Moreton Bay, as well as of hides and sheep skins, as the reader will observe from the list of articles exported from the Brisbane River to Sydney, during the year ending 31st July 1844, and the quantity of all these articles is increasing rapidly every year. Tallow is also a considerable article of export from that district, there having been not fewer than 296 casks of that article exported during the above year. The practice of boiling down sheep and cattle for their tallow, (suggested by H. O'Brien, Esq., J.P., of Yass, in the year 1843, a time when the Colony was suffering extreme depression, and when both of these descriptions of stock had fallen exceedingly low,) has proved of the utmost importance to the entire Colony, in an economical point of view, by establishing a minimum price for both of these descriptions of stock; for whenever the market price of either will not equal or exceed the amount

obtainable for the tallow alone in the London market, they are "sent to pot," as it is termed, or boiled down for their tallow. Now as all these articles of export have at present to pay freight to Sydney, amounting to ten shillings for each bale of wool, and in similar proportion for all the other articles enumerated, over and above the freight to London, there will evidently be a great saving to the district, when the establishment of a commercial port in the Bay will enable the Colonists of Cooksland to export their produce direct to Europe.

Next to the native grass, the indigenous timber of Cooksland is likely to prove the most valuable of its natural productions, and it cannot be doubted that whenever a numerous and industrious free immigrant population shall have settled in that part of the Territory, there will be a large annual export of timber, of the more valuable descriptions for cabinet-work, to the mother-country. It would be of no benefit to the reader, as well as foreign to my object in this work, to give a *catalogue raisonnée* of the different species of timber at Moreton Bay; but, with a view to exhibit the capabilities of the country as an eligible residence for a European community of British origin, I shall enumerate a few of the more important species, with notanda illustrative of their qualities, localities and uses, for which I am indebted in great measure to Mr. Andrew Petrie, the able and intelligent Superintendent of Government Works at Moreton Bay, while that part of the Territory was a Penal Settlement.

1. *Araucaria Cunninghami*, or the *Moreton Bay Pine*. This handsome tree, the ornament of the forests of Cooksland, resembles in its outline and in the character of its vegetation the swamp oak of New South Wales, already described, but grows to a much greater height—from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet—and yields a much more useful timber. The timber resembles that of the Baltic, or the North Carolina Pine, and appears to be of a much more valuable quality than the Canadian timber. It is used for the same pur-

poses, and is cut into boards for exportation. There are two varieties of this pine—that of the mountains, and that of the plains or alluvial flats on the banks of rivers. Of the former of these varieties, Mr. Petrie, who first observed its superior qualities, states, that, “it is little inferior to the Bunya-Bunya Pine,” to be afterwards described. “It is well adapted for masts and spars, and grows nearly as large as the Bunya; no sap nor knots to injure the spars.”

2. *Araucaria Bidwellia*, or the *Bunya-Bunya Pine*. “This tree,” observes Mr. Petrie, “grows to an immense height and girth. I have measured some ordinary sized trees, 150 feet high, and about four feet diameter. They are as straight and round as a gun-barrel. The timber grows in a spiral form, and would answer admirably for ships’ masts of any size. This pine bears a great strain transversely, one of its superior qualities; also there is no sap-wood nor knots in the barrel, the lateral branches being never above two to three inches in diameter, and growing from the outer rind of the tree. The fruit of this pine is a large cone or core about nine inches by six, and covered with small cones similar in appearance to a pine apple. It is these small nuts that the blacks eat; they travel two or three hundred miles to feed on this fruit. It is plentiful every three years. This timber grows in latitude 25° and 26° , and about 60 miles in longitude. It is not known at present to grow anywhere else. It grows plentiful in this latitude.” Mr. Petrie adds, “I was the first person who risked my life with others in procuring the first plants of this tree, and Mr. Bidwell,” for whom it is named, “was some years after me.”

3. The Red Cedar of New South Wales. This valuable timber, the finer specimens of which are equal in richness and beauty to any mahogany, is found on the alluvial land along all the rivers of this portion of the Territory, and it is principally from these rivers that the supply for New South Wales is now procured. Shortly before I left Sydney, there were

not fewer than four vessels loading cedar for Sydney at one time, in the Tweed River. On most of the rivers that fall into Moreton Bay, the cedar has been long since cut away; for a provident Government, utterly at a loss to devise proper employment for the convicts, during the continuance of the Penal Settlement, employed them in cutting down the valuable timber, in all the easily accessible localities on the Bay, to the serious disadvantage and loss of the settlement now; and large quantities of that timber were actually piled up, and left to rot on the beach at Dunwich, after all the labour that had been thrown away in procuring it. On the rivers to the northward of Moreton Bay, particularly the Dunkelba River, to the northward of Wide Bay, cedar is also abundant, but none of these rivers have as yet been visited by the cedar-cutters of the Colony. It is also abundant on the coast range to the eastward of the Darling Downs, a circumstance that will doubtless prove of no small importance to the future inhabitants of that splendid country, as soon as it ceases to be a mere sheep-walk, as it is at present, and is inhabited, as it doubtless will be at no distant period, by a numerous and thriving agricultural population.

4. Iron-Bark.—“This tree grows plentifully in the forest, and is suitable for house or ship-building, and is a valuable timber.”

5. Blue-Gum.—“This is another valuable hardwood timber, and is well adapted for all kinds of carpentry work.”

6. Box.—“This timber is very suitable for all agricultural implements, and for many other purposes.”

7. Rose or Violet-Wood.—“This is a valuable timber, and is suitable for gig-shafts, &c., being similar to our lance-wood at home. The Aborigines make their spears of this wood, and they know the art of straightening them when crooked.”

8. Silk-Oak.—“This is a very beautiful tree, and the timber is well adapted for the sheathing of vessels, and many other useful purposes.”

9. Forest-Oak.—“ Known also by the name of Beef-wood ; suitable for tool-handles, bullock-yokes, &c. It is used principally for fire-wood.”

10. Tulip-Wood.—“ This wood is suitable for fancy, cabinet and turning-work. It grows in the scrub. The tree appears like a cluster of Gothic columns.”

“ There are a great many other species of valuable timber in this district,” observes Mr. Petrie, “ that I have not described, not having specimens to give you. Logwood and Fustic have been procured here. The timber-trade will form one of the principal branches of commerce.” I have already mentioned the cypress-pine as an ornamental timber, peculiar to the district. Satin-wood and yellow-wood are the names of two other species of timber that are used in the same way ; but this department of the future wealth of the territory of Cooksland has as yet been but very imperfectly investigated.

“ I have sent you,” adds Mr. Petrie in the communication from which I have just been quoting pretty freely, “ a small sample of the native gums. Gums could be procured in this District in considerable quantities.” In addition to the sample sent me by Mr. Petrie, I had picked up a few specimens in the District myself, and I have no doubt that the export of this article will be very considerable as soon as there shall be a sufficient amount of disposable labour in the district to procure it. There are several species of gum-yielding trees in the forests of Moreton Bay, and as far as I could judge from appearances, the gums of the most valuable description are the produce of trees growing on the poorest land. In passing rapidly by the Railway through North Carolina in the United States of America in the year 1840, I observed that millions of the pine-trees along the line of the Railway, growing on the sterile tract constituting what the Americans call the sea-board, had been tapped for turpentine or rosin. Now if the collection of these inferior gums constitutes a remunerating employment for industry, and a lucrative branch of national commerce

in America, I am quite confident that one or other of the various gums procurable in comparatively large quantities at Moreton Bay would well repay all the labour that might be expended in collecting it, and would form a valuable export for the Colony. None of these gums, so far as I know, have as yet been tested or analyzed; but it cannot be supposed for one moment that some, at least, of the numerous varieties of gum produced in so low a latitude would not be found highly useful, and consequently highly valuable either in pharmacy, or in the arts and manufactures. The Moreton Bay Pine yields a gum which is frequently found in hard masses, wherever the tree has been accidentally wounded, as large as a child's head; and in other varieties of the gum-yielding trees of the district, if a gimlet-hole is made in the wood when the sap is up, the gum issues abundantly and quite transparent, hardening gradually on exposure to the air. The collection of whatever variety or varieties of the native gum might be found worth at least the trouble of procuring it, besides paying the cost of its transmission to England, would form a species of light labour by no means disagreeable, and in all probability highly remunerative to the future colonists of Cooksland.

There is one other article of production, which certainly does not require the intervention of cultivation of any kind to ensure its being obtainable in any conceivable quantity by careful and industrious people, in the district of Moreton Bay, and for the raising of which the climate and indigenous vegetation are admirably adapted—I mean honey. Honey from the labours of the small, native, stingless bee of the colony is procured in great quantities by the Aborigines, and forms a frequent and favourite article of their food. But the European bee has of late years been introduced in New South Wales, and propagated with remarkable success; the number of swarms which a hive in working and breeding order throws off in a given time, and the quantity of honey realized from the stock, with scarcely any trouble whatever, being perfectly in-

credible to any person acquainted merely with the management of bees, and the results of that management in England. A settler at Illawarra in New South Wales, who very recently directed his attention to this branch of rural economy, had not less than 25 cwt. of honey to dispose of last season to a brewery in his neighbourhood at *threepence a-pound*. The climate and vegetation of Moreton Bay are, in my opinion, still better adapted to the bee than those of Illawarra, and the circumstance suggests a source of comfort and wealth to industrious emigrants of the humbler classes of society that ought neither to be neglected nor despised.

CHAPTER VI.

ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTIONS SUITED TO THE SOIL AND CLIMATE OF COOKSLAND.

“ Be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land . . . And they came unto the brook of Esheol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two upon a staff. And they brought of the pomegranates and of the figs.”—NUMBERS xiii. 20-23.

It has long been the general impression in New South Wales, that Moreton Bay is too far to the northward for the production of wheat or any other European grain; and I confess, that until I had visited the district myself, and ascertained the fact to be otherwise, I was under that impression also. Two circumstances had concurred in producing and maintaining this impression: on the one hand, the wheat of Hunter's River, situated about a hundred miles to the northward, was known to be considerably lighter than the wheat grown to the southward of Sydney, as well as of inferior quality and more liable to be attacked and destroyed by the weevil; and it was natural to suppose that so much farther to the northward as the district of Moreton Bay, the soil and climate would be still less suited to the production of that grain. On the other hand, the Government had attempted the cultivation of wheat at a place called Eagle Farm, a few miles down the river from Brisbane Town, during the con-

tinuance of the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay, and as it had proved a complete failure, the experiment was not repeated elsewhere for a long time thereafter. Besides, when the Settlement was at length thrown open to free immigration towards the close of the year 1841, the whole of the available labour of the district being employed exclusively in tending the rapidly increasing flocks and herds of the Squatters, there was no leisure in any quarter for the cultivation of grain, and the whole of the flour required in the district was imported from Sydney. The uncertainty of this supply, however, especially before a regular steam communication was established with Sydney, and the great cost of the article, over and above its price in the capital, induced various parties in the Settlement to attempt to grow wheat for themselves, and the gratifying result has been the complete establishment of the fact, that the Moreton Bay country is admirably adapted for the growth of wheat, as well as of various other descriptions of European grain; the failure at Eagle Farm having been owing entirely to the ineligibility of the situation.

The slightest reference to the history of the ancient world might indeed have led any person to anticipate such a result. Egypt, and the Roman Province of Africa were for ages the granary of Rome, and we learn from Holy Scripture that wheat, and barley, and flax were the principal agricultural products of Egypt from the highest antiquity. Now the limits of the land of Egypt—"from Migdol," at the mouths of the Nile, to "the Tower of Syene," under the tropic of Cancer—correspond exactly in the Northern Hemisphere with those of Cooksland, extending, as it does, from the 30th parallel of South latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn, in the Southern. Making allowances, therefore, for the difference between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres—and on the common supposition that the Southern is the coldest, that difference will be all in favour of the suitableness of the soil and climate of Moreton Bay for the production of European grain—

there is reason to believe, *a priori*, that the range of production in the future Colony of Cooksland will be as extensive as in Egypt and Northern Africa, if not actually identical with that of these highly favoured regions.

In regard to the adaptation of the soil and climate for the growth of wheat, Mr. Commissary Kent informed me, that he had actually threshed-out thirty-four bushels an acre from a stack of wheat grown on the Government Stock Station at Limestone, although a considerable portion of the grain had been lost through mismanagement, and that that grain had weighed from sixty-two to sixty-three lbs. per bushel. Mr. John Ross, the proprietor of a Squatting Station about twenty-three miles from Ipswich, on the road to the Gap, told me also that he had had a quantity of wheat grown on his station, of which the average produce was thirty bushels an acre; and I learned from an intelligent Squatter on the Darling Downs, that the produce in that district is at least equally great.

Mr. Ross, who is married and has a promising family, had been ten years in the colony. He had come from the north of Scotland as a hired servant or shepherd to one of the sons of Sir George M'Kenzie, Baronet, of Coll. He had had £300 in cash when the period of his engagement expired, and had entered into some speculation in stock, during the sheep-and-cattle-mania in the Colony a few years ago, but had been unsuccessful. He had commenced afresh, however, and has now 4000 sheep, besides cattle and horses, and an excellent Squatting Station on one of the best routes in the district, and quite close to navigation.

At Captain Griffin's station on the North Pine River, in latitude 27°, I found that the wheat crop, of which, however, I neglected to ascertain the return per acre, had been reaped by the first of November, corresponding to the first of May in England; the stubble-ground having been partly planted with maize at the period of my visit, and partly under the plough for more. Mr. Griffin, jun., was also preparing to plant English potatoes on a portion of the stubble-land, to be ready by the

beginning of winter. In the garden I observed bananas, pine-apples, and orange-trees growing luxuriantly along with the common English potato, the sweet potato, cabbages, Cape gooseberries, strawberries, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, and French beans.

Barley has also been cultivated in the Moreton Bay country with complete success ; and Captain Wickham, R.N., the Police Magistrate of Brisbane, told me that, to his own knowledge, some superior *Highland* whiskey had been made from it—I suspect without paying the duty.

In short, it has been sufficiently ascertained that the soil and climate of Moreton Bay are admirably adapted for the production of every species of European grain, as well as of those peculiar to warmer climates ; for as vegetation goes on without interruption all the year round, the farmer has only to select for the growth of any description of grain the particular season that will ensure the exact temperature required to bring it to maturity ; the barley harvest, as being the hardiest grain, coming immediately after the Colonial winter, the wheat harvest at the commencement of summer, and the maize harvest so late as to give that inter-tropical grain the full benefit of the heat of summer.

The maize crop is indeed a never-failing crop at Moreton Bay, the return on alluvial land, in good condition, being at the rate of eighty bushels an acre. Of the small variety of maize called *Cinquantino*,* or Cobbett's corn, three successive crops have been grown on the same ground in a year. This grain is extensively used as an article of food in the Southern States of North America, and indeed all over the Union. The Americans have various modes of preparing it, both in the form of cakes and of puddings. It is a most valuable grain for all descriptions of stock, and there might very soon be a large yearly exportation of it to England from the territory of Cooksland, were there only a numerous free immigrant agricultural population settled in that territory. It would form an excellent and cheap article of food for the humbler classes at home, either by itself,

* * It is so called from the Italian word signifying *fifty*, because it is supposed to come to maturity in fifty days.

or mixed with the flour or meal of other low-priced descriptions of grain. Maize has hitherto been very little used as an article of food in New South Wales, partly from having been given in the form of meal as part of their rations to the convicts, under the idea of its being an inferior sort of food, but chiefly from the circumstance of the very poorest classes of the community in that colony being able at all times to purchase wheaten bread, which they prefer.

I scarcely expected to find the common English potato cultivated successfully at Moreton Bay; but both at Brisbane and Ipswich I found them quite as good as they had been in Sydney at any time during the year 1845. They are cultivated there, however, rather because most people are accustomed to the use of them, and prefer them to any other vegetable, than because they are peculiarly suited to the soil and climate; for the potato of the growth of Port Phillip, ten degrees farther south, is greatly superior to the best I saw anywhere at Moreton Bay.

The sweet potato, however, seems to be peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate of Cooksland. It is propagated either from the root or from cuttings of the vine, as it is called, although when propagated in the latter of these modes, it degenerates rapidly. This tuber is astonishingly prolific. Dr. Simpson had been getting some planted in his garden at Red Bank, when I had the pleasure of seeing him there, and in accompanying me through the garden, he observed that maize and the sweet potato were the staple and never-failing agricultural productions of the district, and that many of the tubers turned out from the plants I saw in progress would in all likelihood be eleven pounds in weight each. Mr. Wade had seen one that weighed 18 lbs., and Mr. Kent one of 23 lbs.; but I have since heard of one that had been forwarded from the district to Sydney, prior to the arrival of any of these gentlemen, that was called "the infant," from its resemblance to a child, and that weighed considerably upwards of 30 lbs. When propagated from the root in rich alluvial soil, the

sweet potato will yield 40 tons per acre. As an article of food this tuber is very little if at all inferior to the common potato, and when mashed up with milk and pepper into a sort of pudding, it forms a most palatable article of food. The Americans are very fond of it, especially for ship stores, and an American whaling Captain who had been wrecked on the coast to the northward, and had reached Moreton Bay in his boats, gave it as his opinion that if the port were only properly surveyed and made known, the facility of obtaining maize-meal and sweet potatoes, with the other supplies that are likely to be procurable there at a very moderate cost, would be sure to attract many of the South Sea whalers of that nation, in preference to any other Australian port.

But the sweet potato would be highly valuable to an industrious population settled at Moreton Bay, not so much as an article of food for man, as for the feeding of pigs and the curing of bacon. After having been reared for a certain period on these tubers, a comparatively small quantity of maize, to be supplied daily to the animals, would bring their flesh to the requisite consistency for all economical purposes, and a most profitable branch of industry, (especially for persons of the humbler classes, as it would require no capital to commence with,) might thus be created, and another promising channel of Colonial commerce opened up. In this observation I am happy to say I am strengthened by the concurrence of the late Mayor of Sydney, (Henry Macdermott, Esq.,) who had also visited Moreton Bay, and to whom I found the same idea had also occurred.

When the Government Garden at Brisbane was kept in proper order, arrow-root was cultivated in it, by way of experiment, and with complete success; the quality of the article being pronounced by the officers of the Settlement equal to any they had ever seen, and the quantity gathered being at the rate of four tons an acre.

In the garden of Dr. Ballow, the Colonial Surgeon of the establishment at Brisbane, I observed the pome-

granate, the orange-tree, the cotton-tree, (Sea Island,) the vine, the peach, the pear, the sugar-cane, the bamboo, the mulberry tree, the castor-oil tree, the banana, (two varieties,) the pine-apple, the fruiting passion-flower, chrysanthemums, larkspurs, roses, strawberries, cabbages, onions, potatoes, carrots, peas and beans, &c., &c., all growing luxuriantly in the open air, and all apparently quite at home. In short, the range of productions to which the soil and climate appear to be perfectly adapted, is very extensive; for, situated as it is on the verge of the torrid, although actually in the temperate zone, the peculiar productions of both of these zones seem to regard Cooksland as a sort of neutral territory or debateable land, equally common to both; and which, therefore, like Britain and America very recently, in regard to the Oregon Territory, they consider they have each an equally good right to consider as part and parcel of their respective domains. I shall make a few observations on some of the more important of these productions, principally with a view to point out those of which it appears to me it would be alike the interest and the duty of the mother-country to encourage and promote the cultivation.

In regard, then, to the vine, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Leichhardt are both pretty strongly of opinion that Moreton Bay will never become a vine-growing country, from the circumstance that the periodical rains of January and February come just at the season when the grapes are getting ripe, and require the sun, and not rain, to bring them to the requisite maturity for the manufacture of wine. "The rains come," observed Dr. Simpson, when speaking of the vine, "when we don't want them."* In this opinion, however, there are intelligent persons in the district who do not concur with these gentlemen, and who therefore desire to see the culture of the vine fairly tried in it; but in the

* *Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres*
Arboribus venti. VIRG, *Palæmon*, 80.

face of an opinion resting on such authority, I should not like to assume the responsibility of advising vine-growers from the continent of Europe (for it is there only that such persons are to be had) to emigrate to Moreton Bay for the cultivation of the vine. There are districts enough both in New South Wales and in Port Phillip admirably adapted for that species of cultivation, and in which there are no such periodical rains in January and February to destroy the vintage as there are to the northward. And there are plenty of other objects to which industry can be applied with the certain prospect of an adequate remuneration for labour at Moreton Bay, even although that district should prove to be unsuited for the cultivation of the vine. It is not desirable, indeed, that any one country should be capable of producing everything; for where, in that case, would be the necessity for the intercourse of nations, which Infinite Wisdom and Beneficence has so beautifully made to depend upon, and, as it were, to grow out of their mutual wants?

I do not know, however, a more promising speculation at the present moment, for industrious families and individuals of the class of gardeners, in the mother-country, than to settle as free emigrants on any of the rivers of Cooksland, and especially on the Brisbane, for the cultivation of the banana and the pine-apple, and other similar intertropical plants and fruits for the southern markets of New South Wales, Port Phillip, and Van Dieman's Land, which are now all open and easily and constantly accessible from the northward by steam-navigation. I mention the Brisbane river more particularly, because it is at present the coal-river of the northern division of the great Colony of New South Wales, and will therefore be, at least for some time to come, the principal stream on that part of the east coast for steam-navigation; and also because there is a succession of alluvial flats, of limited extent, but of inexhaustible fertility, along the whole of its course, any one of which would be a perfect fortune to an industrious family of the class I have mentioned; as their

produce could be put on board the steam-vessel from the proprietor's own boat at no expense whatever, and conveyed direct to Sydney, the best market in the Colony, probably every week. One of the Bonnymuir Radicals has not more than three acres of land of this description rented from my brother, on the Paterson River, one of the tributaries of the Hunter, in latitude $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S., for which he pays a yearly rent of one pound per acre, and from which he derives a comfortable subsistence for his family; cultivating tobacco, potatoes, and such other crops of that description as are suited to the climate in constant succession, and keeping his little farm, or rather large garden, in excellent order. I mention the circumstance to show that, if really industrious and disposed to avail himself of the advantages of his situation, wherever the soil and climate are so pre-eminently in his favour as in the case under consideration,

Man wants but little here below,

in the article of land; for as the range of productions is much more extensive on the Brisbane River than on the Hunter, while the tropical productions that can be raised on the former of these streams are of much greater value than those that can be raised on the latter, the same extent of land in the hands of an industrious person will be of correspondingly greater value on the Brisbane than on the Hunter.

Tobacco is an article of produce for which the entire alluvial country throughout the territory of Cooksland is admirably adapted, and for the cultivation of which persons of the class I have just mentioned would be much better suited, from their previous habits and experience, than mere agriculturists. If this narcotic must still be supplied in such vast quantities from beyond seas, for the consumption of the smoking and snuffing population of Europe, why should Great Britain, with all the pseudo-philanthropy of her abolitionist agitation in America, and her expensive Guarda Costas

in Africa, neglect the only effectual means of aiming a decisive blow at the existence of slavery in the United States, and everywhere else throughout the civilized world, by encouraging the growth of this and all the other slave-grown productions of modern commerce by means of free labour in her own colonies? I do not mean *encouragement* in the form of protecting duties in favour of the colonies, but in the way of affording facilities for the emigration of her own virtuous and industrious but redundant population, and of supplying such emigrants with the necessary assistance and direction to render their labour available to the utmost extent, not only for their own individual benefit, but for the advancement of the general interests of the empire and of humanity. I confess it is chiefly with a view to contribute my quota towards the achievement of this object of transcendant importance, not only to Great Britain but to the world at large, that I am now employing the leisure which the long and dreary voyage to England, by way of New Zealand and Cape Horn, affords me in arranging and digesting the information I have acquired, both personally and through the testimony of other credible witnesses, respecting the extraordinary capabilities of the *terra incognita Britannis** which forms the subject of this volume.

A gentleman who had for many years been an Indigo planter in India, but who is now settled on the Brisbane River at Moreton Bay, expressed to me his decided conviction that the cultivation of indigo would succeed perfectly in that district, the soil and climate being, in his opinion, remarkably favourable for the purpose. As he was a strong advocate, however, for the introduction of Coolies into the Australian colonies generally, he seemed to regard it as indispensably necessary to the success of that species of cultivation that the labour should be performed by Coolies; for as it is necessary in a certain stage of the process of fermenta-

* Land unknown to Britons.

tion in the manufacture of indigo for the labourers to descend into the fermenting vats and to move about in them, stirring up the stuff from the bottom, up to the neck, a European, he alleged, would *look* so very *blue* after the process that he would be a white man no longer—a consummation the very idea of which would, he thought, be absolutely intolerable to the aristocracy of colour—whereas the Coolie, being naturally black, could suffer nothing from a slight change of hue. I have no doubt that the soil and climate of any part of Cooksland would be suitable enough for the cultivation of indigo, and that that cultivation would answer well in a pecuniary point of view; but I confess I am strongly opposed to the introduction of an inferior and degraded race, like the Hill Coolies of India, into the Australian colonies; and I should be sorry to assent to such a measure on a great scale, as has been frequently recommended in certain quarters, even to secure for the colony the extensive cultivation of indigo, if the plant could be reared and manufactured in no other way. But I can see no such necessity in the case at all. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our industrious countrymen at home who would willingly allow themselves to be dyed all the colours of the rainbow if they could only make an honest living by it. But the idea of its being necessary, in the present state of the arts and manufactures of Great Britain, to employ men at all for the stirring up or trituration of the fermenting mass of vegetation in an indigo vat, is out of the question. Some machine would be invented for the purpose, which would not only enable us to dispense with the Coolies but allow the white man to retain his natural colour. It is worthy of remark that both tobacco and indigo are indigenous in New South Wales—in the district of Hunter's River.

As the Mulberry tree grows luxuriantly at Moreton Bay, the rearing of silk-worms and the production of raw silk might be carried on in the district to any conceivable extent. This is a species of industry that has the twofold recommendation of requiring no capital to

commence with and of affording a light and remunerative employment to children and females. In the neighbourhood of Damascus, in Syria, the small farmers pay their rent and taxes with the money they receive from the silk-merchants for the raw material with which they supply them, in small quantities individually, and which they also exchange for the manufactures of England and France; and there is no reason whatever why the future farmers of Moreton Bay should not find a mine of wealth in this important branch of industry. The production of silk has been introduced as a branch of agricultural industry, within a comparatively recent period, into Lombardy, in Italy, where it is now extensively and successfully pursued, and great efforts have also been made within the last few years to introduce and naturalize it in the United States of America. Now, I am confident that there is no part either of the north of Italy or of the United States of America in which the soil and climate can possibly be better adapted either to the growth of the mulberry tree or to the constitution and habits of the silk-worm, than those of Cooksland. Experiments have frequently been made with silk-worms in New South Wales, and with uniform success, but merely, I regret to add, as a matter of curiosity, and with no idea of following up the successful experiments by establishing another branch of colonial industry.

I have observed that the sugar-cane was growing luxuriantly in Dr. Ballow's garden at Brisbane; and as good sugar has actually been manufactured from the cane many years ago at Port Macquarie, in New South Wales, nearly four degrees to the southward of the Brisbane River, there can be no doubt as to the practicability of carrying on that manufacture to any extent at Moreton Bay. There is a very prevalent idea, however, in England that the cultivation of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar must always be conjoined and be carried on by the same persons, and that as this can only be effected by means of an extensive combination of labour and the investment of a large amount

of capital in the requisite buildings and machinery, it is a branch of business that can only be pursued successfully either in connexion with the system of slavery or when the party engaged in it has a large capital to expend in the employment of free labour. But this idea has arisen entirely from the long prevalence of the vile system of slavery in our West India Colonies; for it appears to me that there can be no better reason assigned why the colonial farmer who cultivates the sugar-cane should also be able to superintend and conduct the delicate chemical processes of a sugar-manufactory, so as to monopolise in his own person both of these very different and distinct branches of business, than there can for requiring the British corn-grower to be also a miller and a baker, or the British flax-grower to be also a flax-dresser and a weaver. Nay, as the operation of transforming the rich juice of the cane into sugar is a chemical process requiring the utmost tact and long experience to ensure its success, while the operations of grinding and weaving are merely mechanical, it seems to me pre-eminently absurd to identify the cultivator and the manufacturer in the one case and to keep them distinct in the other. No doubt when a planter had three or four hundred negro slaves on his estate, it was desirable, in order to keep these slaves constantly employed, to transform the farm, every season after the crop had been got in, into a manufactory; but the combination of the two distinct branches of business is contrary to the first principles of political economy and to the uniform practice in every department of industry in the mother-country.

If the West India system of combining the cultivation of the cane with the manufacturing processes implied in the conversion of its juices into sugar, were absolutely necessary to the production of that commodity, I should scarcely recommend the cultivation of the cane at Moreton Bay, as the prospect of deriving any profit from the investment of so large a capital, and the maintenance of so extensive an establishment as the speculation would imply, would be very preca-

rious. But if an establishment were to be formed for the manufacture of sugar in a central situation in the district, to be conducted by persons thoroughly acquainted with the process, and making it their exclusive business, (purchasing the canes from the farmers, either at the Boiling-House or in the field,) I am confident the speculation would prove highly remunerative to all concerned. In that case every small farmer could have his cane-patch (to use the appropriate phrase of the West Indies) as well as his portion of ground under maize, wheat or sweet potatoes, and there would be just as little difficulty in disposing of the cane to advantage, as there is at present in disposing of the wheat or the maize; for if the sugar-manufacturer did not give the Colonial farmer a fair price for his canes, an opposition-concern would very soon be got up to ensure justice to the cultivator.

This idea of the separation of the two branches of business implied in the production of sugar—the cultivation of the cane, and the manufacture of the commodity—has recently been urged very strongly on the planters of the Mauritius by the press of that Colony; for as the apparatus required for that manufacture is extensive, while modern science has suggested various improvements which can only be carried into effect on a large scale, and by persons thoroughly acquainted with the business, it is conceived that a great saving would be effected both of materiel and of labour in that Colony, if the two branches of the business were to be completely separated. The sugar at present consumed in the Australian Colonies is imported in great measure from the Isle of France, although in part from Manilla. And taking into consideration the fact, that the consumption of sugar in the Australian Colonies is enormous, and that the countries from which that article is exported take almost nothing from these Colonies in return, there is every inducement to extend the cultivation of the cane, and to introduce the manufacture of sugar at Moreton Bay, as well as every reasonable prospect of an adequate return for the capital and la-

bour to be invested in the undertaking. Sugar and tea are prime necessities of life in New South Wales. Of the former of these articles, one pound a-week or 52 lbs. a-year is the regular allowance of every hired servant in the Colony; the entire consumption of the article having been calculated very recently at not less than 90 lbs. a-head, per annum, for every man, woman, and child in the Colony. No doubt a considerable proportion of this entire amount was consumed at the time when the calculation was made in illicit distillation, to which the maintenance by the Government of a high rate of duties on imported spirits, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Representatives of the people, afforded a sort of premium; but still that enormous quantity was consumed, and it has not been very greatly reduced since, although illicit distillation has in great measure been discontinued in consequence of the recent reduction of the duties. In short, with such a home-market for the consumption of sugar, there is every encouragement for the cultivation of the sugar-cane at Moreton Bay. And if European labour can be made extensively available in that District, as I shall prove that it can, for the production of a commodity which is everywhere else the produce of black-labour, and everywhere else but in our own Colonies the produce of the labour of slaves, an important diversion will, I conceive, be made in favour of the cause of universal freedom, and a most important service rendered to humanity.

. Having touched at Pernambuco, in the Brazils, on my voyage home, after the completion of this Work for the press, I had an opportunity, for the first time, of observing the various processes and operations in common use among the Planters of that country in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of sugar; and the result was very strongly to confirm me in my previously formed opinion as to the entire practicability of conducting that branch of cultivation and manufacture, with the fairest prospect of adequate remuneration both for labour and capital, by means of

European free-labour in the territory of Cooksland. Pernambuco is doubtless situated in a very low latitude, being in $8^{\circ} 4'$ S.; but the State of Louisiana, in North America, the principal sugar-growing State of the American Union, extends from 29° to 33° N., a range of latitude much higher than that of Cooksland. The city of New Orleans, near the mouths of the Mississippi, is in latitude 30° N., and with the exception of a few estates farther down the river, for about thirty miles, all the sugar-plantations of Louisiana are situated to the northward of that city, and consequently in a higher latitude than any part of Cooksland. The climate of New Orleans, moreover, is one of the deadliest for Europeans on the face of the globe; and this extreme insalubrity, greater even than that of the East and West Indies, combined with the well-known relaxing effects of the constant high temperature of the latter regions, has tended very much to encourage and perpetuate the gratuitous and unfounded idea that European labour is totally inapplicable everywhere to the branches of cultivation pursued in these regions. It is worthy of remark, however, that although New Orleans is situated in a very low country, while the Clarence River in the corresponding latitude in Cooksland flows in the immediate vicinity of much higher land than there is in any part of the United States, to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains, the winter at New Orleans is incomparably more severe than at the Clarence River; for while the orange grows luxuriantly in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney, in New South Wales, in latitude 34° S., *i.e.* four and a-half degrees higher than the latitude of the Clarence, it cannot be grown either in New Orleans or in Savannah, in latitude 30° N. But temperature and salubrity depend upon various other influences, besides that of mere latitude.

To return to Pernambuco.—I determined, on touching at that port, to visit one of the Engenhos or sugar plantations of that part of the Brazils, provided there should be any within a reasonable distance of the city.

Finding, accordingly, that there was one within a few leagues, belonging to two brothers,—the Senhores Antonio and Francisco,—with whom the English agent of our ship was personally acquainted, I hired a curricule for three of my fellow-passengers and myself, to visit the Engenho. The curricule was of European manufacture. It was drawn by three horses abreast, the middle one being in shafts, with one on each side in traces attached to an outrigger. It had a hood to shelter the traveller from the sun, (which was then right overhead and left us no shadow when we stood erect,) and the deluging rains of the tropics, with a box seat for the *conducateur* or driver. The latter was a respectable young man both in dress and manners; but as he spoke no language but Portuguese, of which we were all equally ignorant, we could obtain no intelligence whatever, either respecting the interesting country we passed through, or the manners, pursuits, and opinions of its inhabitants, notwithstanding all manner of Procrustean operations on my part, sometimes upon Latin and sometimes upon French, in the vain hope of manufacturing something like intelligible Portuguese.

On arriving at the Engenho, we found that the crop, or canes, had been all cut, and was then undergoing the operation of being converted into sugar. For this purpose, the canes are cut as near the ground as is thought proper, to secure the whole of the saccharine matter, and the leaves and tops being then cut off, the latter are burnt on the field with the roots, to manure the ground I presume, for the next crop. The canes are then pretty much like walking staffs, only a little longer,* and in this state they are packed into as primitive a machine as I have ever seen. It is a sort of wooden pannier, fitted to a correspondingly rude saddle,

* The canes at Pernambuco are of a very small size. The South Sea Island variety, which is indigenous at Tahiti and New Caledonia, to the eastward of Moreton Bay, are much larger, and I should think correspondingly more productive.

on the back of a horse, and forming a basket or frame, of which the end view resembles the letter V, on each side of the animal, and which reaches nearly to the ground. Into these baskets or panniers, the canes are packed, and the horse is then led or driven with his load by a negro to the Engenho or Mill. The Engenho consists of a long wooden shed, roofed, as is usual in the Brazils, with tiles. These tiles are very differently formed from ours. They are like the ridge tiles used in England, and the lower series, (for there are always two,) are laid with the concave side up; the upper series being laid with the convex side up, so that each upper row of tiles, from the eaves to the ridge, covers the edges of the two adjoining rows below, the concave surface of which serves as a channel or gutter, for carrying off the water from the upper row in seasons of rain.

At the extremity of the shed, there was a common undershot water-wheel—for there seemed to be no want of water in the vicinity—which set in motion in opposite directions two rollers, leaving a space between them sufficient to admit the end of a single sugar-cane, which a negro, conveniently seated for the purpose on an elevated bench, supplies one after another, as the former disappear, and which are handed to him by another negro from the heap of canes outside, on which the horses, with the letter V panniers, have discharged their loads. The cane very speedily disappears between the rollers, a few revolutions of which are sufficient to bruise it into a flat ribbon, and to express the whole of its juice; a third negro being employed in removing the bruised canes, on which some cattle were feeding near the mill. Beneath the rollers there is a receptacle for the juice, which runs foaming like milk from a cow in the pail, along a wooden trough which conveys it through a strainer, into a large vat, formed apparently of common clay. At this vat a fourth negro stands with a pole about twelve feet long, having a large tin ladle at the end of it, the pole being suspended at about four feet from the ladle by a cord from the roof. This

ladle the negro ever and anon dips into the liquid, by topping up the extremity of the pole; and then depressing the latter, he raises up the ladle somewhat above the level of the first vat, and pushing it in the proper direction, pours its contents into one or other of three or four boilers ranged along the wall, and considerably elevated on a sort of platform, in which the liquor is boiled. A fifth negro is employed in skimming off the scum from the surface of the boiling vats, and a sixth in supplying fuel, chiefly twigs and saplings, to the furnace which heats the boilers below. Under this process the juice, when cooled, acquires a very agreeable taste, and may be drunk with impunity.

When the process of boiling has been carried to a sufficient extent, the liquor is transferred into earthen coolers, like large flower pots, arranged longitudinally along a series of planks, laid across a portion of the shed, having a round hole excavated right through the plank, under the spot where each cooler rests, that the molasses which escape from the crystallizing mass of syrup, by a hole in the bottom of the cooler, may run off freely. At the opposite extremity of this part of the shed, there is a common receptacle for the molasses, which flow from the whole of the coolers.

When it is intended to improve the colour and quality of the sugar, at the expense of quantity, the simple application of clay to the crude mass produces a remarkable change in its whole substance, of which however, it is not necessary to explain the rationale.

When the mass in the coolers has been sufficiently crystallized, and the molasses drained off, the sugar is spread out upon a series of tables, having each a wooden rim to prevent any from falling off, and it is then dried in the sun, and forthwith packed up for sale or exportation. In short, the whole process is exceedingly simple, and the machinery, although of the rudest and cheapest description imaginable, is quite sufficient for the manufacture of an article of produce which forms one of the great staples of the country.

I should have formed a very different estimate of the real requisites for the manufacture of sugar, if I had only seen one of our own great estates in the West Indies, under the old regime, having an establishment perhaps of 500 or 600 slaves, with extensive buildings and costly machinery.

In regard to the cultivation of the cane, it appeared to be still more simple than the manufacture of the sugar. All that is requisite is to cut the cane into proper lengths, (for it is propagated from shoots, which spring from the joints,) and to place these at proper distances in the ground, after it has been duly prepared for the purpose, covering them over slightly with earth. When the shoot, (which exactly resembles that of the maize-plant,) has attained a proper height, it is hilled round, or earthed up, to keep it clear of weeds, and to stimulate the growth of the plant; and this is all that is done to it till it is cut down, and carried to the Engenho. They appear to have two crops a year at Pernambuco; for on the 16th of October, shortly after the sun had crossed the line from the northward, the first crop was all harvested, and the second above ground. The latter will probably be ready when the sun crosses the line from the southward. This process must be very exhausting for the ground. Of course it could only be practicable so near the equator.

Now I am quite confident that the same extent of ground could be cultivated with the same facility at Moreton Bay, if laid down in sugar-cane, as if laid down in maize, or Indian corn, the mode of cultivation being precisely the same in both cases. And as good sugar, which I have tasted myself, has been manufactured from the cane at Port Macquarie, *four degrees farther south*, there can be no doubt as to the summer heat of that locality being quite sufficient for the due elaboration of the rich juices of the cane. Still, however, I am strongly of opinion, that the entire separation of the cultivation of the cane from the manufacture of the sugar, would be both practicable and highly desirable, in the event of the extensive application of

free European labour to this peculiar species of cultivation in Cooksland.

Feeling deeply interested in this matter, from its evident bearings on the great cause of humanity, especially after having heard of the intended repeal of the foreign slave-grown sugar duties in Europe, I was much gratified at finding, in the first English paper I happened to see, on my arrival at Pernambuco on the 15th of October last,—it was the *Liverpool Mail* of the 12th Sept., the latest paper then in the Brazils,—the following paragraph :—

“A mode of separating the cultivation of sugar from the process of manufacture, said to have been invented by Mr. Alexander Gordon Fyfe, has received much attention from the West India interest, who are memorializing the Government for a loan to establish central sugar factories in the various islands, that the plan may have a fair trial.”

Now this separation of the two departments of labour is all that is wanted to render the cultivation of the cane, by means of free labour at Moreton Bay, both general and profitable; for although the machinery required for the manufacture on the Brazilian plan is very simple and far from costly, small farmers from Europe, who could easily grow a few acres of cane each, could not be expected to incur such trouble and expense as would be requisite even on that economical plan for the manufacture of sugar. Besides, their labour would be much more valuable to themselves in some other way, while the professed manufacturers would be able, on the principle of the subdivision of labour, to carry on the manufacture simultaneously for a whole district at a far cheaper rate, as well as to produce a much better article, than could possibly be done by each cultivator acting separately for himself.

Of the artificial productions for which the soil and climate of Cooksland are peculiarly adapted, the only other I shall mention is cotton. I was much struck on observing the healthy and vigorous condition of the cotton-plants I saw for the first time in the garden of

Dr. Ballow, the Colonial Surgeon, at Brisbane Town, Moreton Bay, in the month of December, 1845. I had seen the plant in Rio de Janeiro, in the Brazils, where it is cultivated for exportation, in the year 1823, and the plants at Moreton Bay were to all appearance equally healthy and vigorous. The cotton had evidently been ready for pulling several weeks before the period I have mentioned; for the plants having been grown merely from curiosity, and with very little attention to their fate, the pods had been left to wither on the bushes and fall to the ground. It was evident, therefore, that the cotton-harvest at Moreton Bay would be early in November—a circumstance of the utmost importance to the future welfare and advancement of the district; for as the periodical rains of that part of the Colonial territory, which would otherwise greatly damage or destroy the cotton-crop, occur in December and January, that crop, if cultivated extensively, would in all likelihood be harvested before the recurrence of the annual rains. In short, it was impossible for any person to see the cotton-tree so strong and healthy as it appeared in the instance I have mentioned—its branches covered with pods and these filled with cotton of snowy whiteness and apparently superior quality—and to doubt for one moment the adaptation of the soil and climate to the growth of that important article of produce. Indeed, if it grows in Egypt and in South Carolina and Georgia, why, it might be asked, *a priori*, should it not grow in a soil and climate at least equal to that of either of these countries in the corresponding latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere? For my own part, I have not the shadow of a doubt as to the perfect adaptation of the soil and climate of Cooksland for the growth of cotton, and I confess my principal and original object in the publication of this work was to demonstrate to the Christian and philanthropic portion of the British public the practicability of raising, to any conceivable extent, a commodity of such transcendant importance to the commerce and manufactures

of Britain *by means of European free labour in our own Colonies.*

The cotton-plant is somewhat similar, both in its outline and in the character of its vegetation, to the common currant of Europe. Its cultivation is extremely simple, as it merely requires to be planted out from the seed-bed in rows, at proper distances, and to be kept clear of weeds, and especially of couch-grass, which will doubtless be its principal enemy in Cooksland. In the United States the cotton-plant is an annual, and must be grown every year from the seed, the plant being regularly destroyed in that country by the severity of the winter frosts; but in the milder climate of Egypt, where it is now cultivated to a considerable extent, in India, and in Cooksland in Australia, of which the range of latitude is precisely the same as that of Egypt in the opposite hemisphere, it is a perennial, and requires renewal from seed only at comparatively long intervals,—a circumstance which must not only materially lessen the cost of its cultivation, but in all likelihood considerably augment its powers of production. The cotton grows in pods, like beans or peas, although of a somewhat different form, the cotton-pod being like a pear in shape. These pods are found all over the plant, like the clusters of currants on a currant bush, generally within reach of the hand of a boy or girl standing close to the plant, each pod containing a number of the black seeds of the plant, nicely wrapped up in cotton. The pods open spontaneously when the seeds are ripe, and are plucked off by the hand, placed in baskets, and carried off the field to the shed or mill where the process of separating the seed from the cotton is carried on. That process used to be performed by the hand, but the American cotton-growers now universally make use of a machine for the purpose, invented by a Mr. Whitney, an eminent mechanical genius of New England, nearly related to the family of the famous Jonathan Edwards, as I was told in America by the grandson of that celebrated divine. It must be evident, therefore, that in the cultivation of this article of produce,

there is much light labour required, for which the services of females and young persons of either sex would be equally available with those of men: and if the principle of the division of labour were to be acted on in this instance, as well as in the manufacture of sugar from the cane, so that one mill or machine, managed by some person or persons who thoroughly understood the business, might clean the raw cotton for a whole district, the mere process of cultivation might be rendered exceedingly simple, and every small settler in the district be enabled to have both a cotton-patch and a cane-patch, in addition to his crops of wheat, maize, and sweet potatoes.

It is doubtless of some importance, in reference to the question as to the adaptation of the soil and climate of Cooksland for the production of cotton, that the cotton-plant, if not indigenous on the mainland of Australia, has actually been found growing wild on the islands immediately adjoining the north-eastern extremity of that continent. My esteemed friend and relative, Dr. Muirhead, R.N., who has for several years past been Surgeon of H.M. Surveying-ship, *Fly*, on that station, has very recently brought home with him to Europe a specimen of the indigenous or wild cotton from one of these islands close to the mainland; and, as in other instances the vegetation of the mainland has been found to be nearly identical with that of the islands immediately adjoining it, there is every reason to believe that cotton will yet be found to be indigenous in Australia.

It is of much more importance, however, to ascertain the probable quality of the produce of the exotic plant, when transferred to the soil and climate of Australia. And this is fortunately by no means a matter of mere speculation. Within the last few weeks I have submitted, through some friends in Glasgow, a specimen of Australian cotton, grown casually from American seed, in the garden of ——— Wilson, Esq., a Scotch Squatter at Mount Flinders, on the Brisbane River, Moreton Bay, about half-way from Ipswich or Limestone to Cunningham's Gap, to a mercantile House of the highest stand-

ing and experience in the cotton trade, in that city; and the following is a copy of the certificate of that House in regard to its quality and present value:—

GLASGOW, 15th April, 1847.

DEAR SIR,—We have examined the small sample of Cotton Wool from Australia carefully, and give it as our opinion, that if quantity could be produced, it is a very valuable kind, and would, in the present state of the market, readily sell at from 11d. to 12d. per lb., say elevenpence to one shilling per pound. It is clean in colour, fine stapled, but rather weak, which by care taken in cultivation might be much improved.

We remain, DEAR SIR,

Yours most sincerely,

JAMES & JOHN WRIGHT.

WILLIAM M'BRYDE, Esq.

It appears, therefore, that cotton of a most valuable description, equal to much of the Sea Island from Georgia, in the United States, can be grown with perfect facility in the territory of Cooksland in Australia. It is unnecessary to inform the reader how peculiarly interesting and important such a circumstance must necessarily be at the present moment, not only from the brilliant prospects which it holds forth for the future Colony of Cooksland, in ensuring remunerative employment to any conceivable extent for myriads of an industrious free-emigrant population to inhabit the beautiful country I have been describing, but from its evident bearings on the question of an adequate supply of raw material for the manufactures of Britain, and on the still higher question of the rights and interests of humanity. It is well known that there has been a feverish feeling generally prevalent for some time past in the Cotton Trade, from an apprehension of an insufficient supply of the raw material for the rapidly-extending manufactures both of this country and of the continent of Europe. The following is an extract of an able and interesting article on the subject, entitled *Statistics of the Cotton Trade*; by Mr. John

Baynes, Blackburn, published in the *Manchester Guardian* of March last :—

In calculating the probable consumption of cotton a few years hence, supposing the past ratio of increase to be continued, it appears very probable that the future development of the Cotton Trade will be more retarded by an insufficient supply of the raw material, than from any other cause. The consumption of cotton for the last thirty years has increased at the compound ratio of 6 per cent. each year, thereby doubling itself every twelve years. The consumption in the year 1817 was estimated at 110,000,000 lbs. ; in 1829 at 219,000,000 lbs. ; in 1834 at 303,000,000 lbs. ; and in 1846 at 612,000,000 lbs. The increased consumption of cotton on the Continent since 1834, has been in the same ratio as that of Great Britain ; whilst in the United States the increase has even been greater, at the compound rate of seven per cent. each year, thereby doubling itself in ten years. As it may be many years before India will be able to produce any considerable quantity of cotton, we shall of necessity be in a great measure dependent on that grown in the United States, which is chiefly the produce of slave-labour. Notwithstanding the vast extent of that country yet uncultivated, the vitality, energy and reproductive power of the coloured race, is so decidedly inferior to that of the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-American, and other fair branches of the Caucasian race, that they cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, keep pace with them in the onward march of improvement, much less when in a state of slavery ; and when we consider, too, that a larger proportion of slave-labour will be employed in the cultivation of sugar than heretofore, and the white population be engaged in raising grain for Europe, we cannot expect so abundant a supply of cotton as we have had. High prices will undoubtedly stimulate production, but they also react in curtailing consumption, and render it very probable that prices will permanently range higher than they have done during the last five years, and the future development of the cotton trade will be retarded in consequence of it.

The following is the actual consumption of Cotton in the year 1834 :—

Great Britain,.....	918,700 bales, at 330 lbs.,	=303,171,000 lbs
Continent of Europe, 491,730	„ „ 330 „	=162,271,000 „
United States,.....	196,270 „ „ 384 „	= 71,443,000 „

Actual consumption of Cotton in the year 1846 :—

Great Britain,....	1,594,000 bales, at 384 lbs.,	=612,173,000 lbs.
Continent of Europe, 828,100	„ „ 384 „	=318,000,000 „
United States,.....	426,000 „ „ 390 „	=161,814,000 „

At the same rate of increase the quantity required twelve years hence will be, for—

Great Britain,.....3,200,000 bales.

Continent of Europe,.,1,656,000 do.

United States,.....954,000 do.

Production of Cotton in 1846.

Cotton crop of the United States,.....2,100,532 bales.

Imported from Brazil,..... 83,950 do.

Do. East Indies,..... 94,683 do.

Do. Egypt,..... 60,668 do.

Do. West Indies, and other parts, 13,267 do.

2,353,100 do.

Actual Consumption, 2,814,900 do.

Deficiencies of 1846,=491,800 bales.

There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the boundless field which is opened up for the remunerative employment of an industrious free emigrant population in the territory of Cooksland, in supplying the raw material for the future manufacturing industry not only of Great Britain but of the continent of Europe. For, taking it for granted, *for the present*, that the climate of Cooksland is one in which the European labourer can stand field-labour of any kind with perfect impunity, there is land enough, of the first quality for the cultivation of cotton in that territory, to afford immediate and permanent employment of the most remunerative character to at least a million of industrious Europeans in the growth of this important article of raw produce for the manufactures of Great Britain and the European Continent. In the particular locality in which the specimen reported on by Messrs. Wright of Glasgow grew, there are not fewer than forty thousand acres of land, of the first quality for cultivation, and within twenty miles of water-carriage. But along the banks of the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers, on the Logan and the Pine Rivers, and on the various islands in Moreton Bay, as well as along the whole navigable course of the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed Rivers, there are millions of

acres of land, of the first quality for cultivation of any kind, and quite close to water-carriage.

In such circumstances, I shall leave the reader to judge whether it is not alike the interest and the duty of all public-spirited and patriotic, but especially of all christian and philanthropic men in this country, to encourage and promote such a branch of cultivation in that noble colony. Why should the manufacturing industry of this country and of the continent of Europe be so exclusively dependent, or even dependent at all, on "Jonathan and his niggers?" Or what dependence can be placed, for a permanent and sufficient supply of the raw material for these manufactures, on the miserable Fellahs of Egypt, smarting under the whip or terrified by the bayonets of Mehemet Ali; or on the indolent Brazilians, weighed down as they are and utterly prostrated as a people by the double and overpowering burden of Popery and Slavery combined; or on the spiritless Hindoos, whose mental energies have for ages past been crushed and annihilated by a degrading superstition? No! we must trust in future to the enterprise and industry of a population of thoroughly British origin, to be settled in our own noble colonies of Australia, for the supply of the raw material for our rapidly extending manufactures, as well as for the permanence and advancement of these manufactures themselves.

So favourable, indeed, are the soil and climate of the East coast of Australia generally for the production of cotton, that the plant has been cultivated successfully in the Government Garden at Sydney; and cotton, pronounced to be of a superior quality by a cotton manufacturer in Glasgow, was grown many years ago at Port Macquarie, nearly four degrees to the southward of the locality in which the specimen above-mentioned was grown. The idea of growing cotton in Australia, as an article of agricultural produce to be exported to Europe, was first put prominently forward by Walter Levi, Esq., a respectable merchant of the Jewish persuasion in Sydney, in the year 1828, who, having been previously resident in one of the British Islands of the

West Indies, was convinced of the suitability of the soil and climate, even in the vicinity of Sydney, for the production of a species of cotton which he had seen cultivated in these islands, and of which he procured a quantity of the seed to be forwarded to him with a view to have the experiment tried on a pretty large scale in New South Wales. The following is an extract of a letter which he received from his correspondent in the West Indies, and which he caused to be published in the *Australian*, a colonial newspaper, of 1828:—

VINE COTTON SEED.

EXTRACT of a letter from a gentleman in the West Indies to
WALTER LEVI, Esq. of Sydney.

I send you a sufficient supply of Vine Cotton Seed to plant a large tract of land, with directions for its planting. It is far superior to any other cotton-seed grown. It requires planting but once in ten or twelve years, instead of annually, as is the case with the ordinary cotton-seed. Indeed, I think it will prove invaluable in a colony like New South Wales, where you have not the labour we have here. This plant becomes more productive every year. I planted an acre at my Marine Villa. It yielded 190 lbs. nett cotton.* It brings 15d. per lb. in the home market, whilst the ordinary West India cotton only commands 7d. per lb.

The following are directions for planting the Vine Cotton Seed. Let the land be hoe-ploughed four or five inches deep, four feet apart; drop four or five seeds in each hole; cover them slightly with the soil. When the plants spring four or five inches high, single them out, leaving two in each hole. Instead of weeding the grass, hoe the land, which will keep it light. The second year of its growth, previous to the wet season setting in, dig up every other row of trees, which will then leave the rows eight feet apart. At the same time cut off all the little dry branches that may be found on the trees of the remaining row. If the trees are tall, lop off the boughs one-third of the height of the trees. The third year dig up every other hole of trees, which will leave the remaining holes eight feet square from each other. They will bear ten or twelve years or more. The land must be kept clear of grass, and no mould suffered to be put to the roots of the trees.

The machinery required (for cleaning the cotton of its seeds) is very simple, and the labour, after the first year, a mere nothing.

Unfortunately for the colony, Mr. Levi, who was a

* Equal to £11, 17s. 6d. per acre.

man of high character and great enterprise, died very shortly thereafter, and the necessity for applying the whole of the available labour of the country to pastoral pursuits, which the unprecedentedly rapid increase of its flocks and herds necessarily rendered a more remunerative employment than agriculture of any kind, becoming more urgent every year, the experiment was never tried. Dr. Thompson, however, late Inspector of Government Hospitals in New South Wales, having become the proprietor of a property at Moreton Bay, endeavoured, within the last few years, to introduce the cultivation of cotton, of the Sea Island variety, into that district, having procured not only a supply of seed from Europe, but a machine for separating the cotton from the seed. But the enormous cost of free labour at Moreton Bay since the opening of the Settlement for free immigration in 1841, arising from the rapid increase of the flocks and herds of the District, and its great distance from the labour-market of the colony, the disastrous period through which the entire colony has since been passing in consequence of the unbridled speculation of previous years, and the condition of an agricultural establishment of any kind of which the proprietor is an absentee, residing 500 miles off—all these circumstances, together with others to which it is unnecessary to allude, unfortunately combined to render Dr. Thompson's experiment abortive. The cotton grew well, for the seeds of the plants I saw in Dr. Ballow's garden at Brisbane Town, as well as those from which the specimen referred to was grown at Mount Flinders, had been obtained from that gentleman's farm; but there was nobody to look after it, and the Colony reaped no benefit from the experiment.

It is absolutely necessary indeed to the success of any such experiment, that there should, in the first instance, be a comparatively numerous population in the District deriving their subsistence principally from agriculture. In most other colonies, as in British America, and in the West Indies, there must of necessity be such a population from the very out-set of the Co-

lony, as the land in these countries yields nothing without cultivation. But the case is very different in the Colonies of Australia ; for *there* the native pasture may prove a source of wealth and fortune to the Colonist, even although he should never turn up a single furrow of the soil. Nobody ever thought of cultivating the ground in the first instance either at Port Phillip or at Moreton Bay : the hired labourer was much more valuable to his employer as a shepherd or stockman, than as a ploughman, and consequently, both the flour and the maize required in both Settlements for years after their formation had all to be imported either from Sydney or from Van Dieman's Land. But this is a state of things that can only be temporary. The native pastures are very soon covered with stock ; for although the Moreton Bay Squatters have, generally speaking, appropriated each as much waste-land under their Government Licenses as to admit of ten years' increase of their present stock,* what are even ten years in the history of a country? At the close of that period the land will be completely stocked ; the country, supposing it to have the boundaries I have proposed to it, will have reached the maximum of production of which it is capable as a wool-growing and cattle-grazing country, and no conceivable addition to the population will ever render the native pastures a whit more productive. With this consummation, therefore, so fully in view, who can doubt that the sheet-anchor, the main dependence of the Colony, is neither to be the growing of wool nor the grazing of cattle—the results of which will every year after the maximum produce of the native pastures has been attained, be smaller and smaller in proportion to the entire population—but the cultivation of the soil. And the sooner a numerous agricultural population shall have taken root in the country, the sooner will it become dependent princi-

* Some of these Squatters *already* find their limits too narrow for their stock, and are obliged to draft them off to the northward.

pally upon that resource, and the sooner will its incomparably greater value than that of even the native pastures be discovered and universally recognised. The pastoral state, therefore, is to be considered merely a transition-state in Australia, preparing the way for the settlement of a numerous agricultural population.

I have already alluded to the bearings of the proposed cultivation of cotton by means of European free-labour in Australia, on the subject of the rights and interests of humanity, as involved in the great question of the Abolition of Slavery in America. For it must be evident, that so long as we are almost exclusively dependent on the Slave States of America for this *materiel* of British manufactures, all our efforts for the Abolition of Slavery in that country will be perfectly futile. Jonathan will turn to the Bible and shew us Slaveholders enough both among the patriarchs of the Old Testament, and the Apostolic men of the New, to warrant his continuance of the vile practice *in his own estimation*, whatever argument may be brought against it, either from reason or from revelation, *so long as he finds it profitable, and holds the monopoly of the British market*. But only shew him that the manufacturers of Britain can do without him—that cotton can be grown by white-labour, as well as by black, by the labour of freemen as well as by that of slaves, and that myriads of the redundant population of Britain can with perfect facility be transformed into cotton growers on British ground, and in a climate incomparably superior to his own—and I am confident that, as his monopoly, if not his occupation, would, in that case, be gone, the lash would ere long fall powerless from his grasp.

In the year 1840, shortly after my return to England from a visit to the United States, I happened, on walking up from Westminster Bridge towards Temple-Bar, in London, by the series of narrow passages commencing at Scotland-Yard, to meet the late Sir T. F. Buxton, with whose acquaintance and friendship I had previously been honoured, and who was then in the midst

of the preparations and arrangements for the great Niger Expedition, of which he was naturally very full. On entering into conversation with him on the subject, Sir Thomas requested me to walk back with him to the office of the Society then recently formed to carry out this object, near Westminster Bridge, that he might give me a copy of his book, entitled—*The Slave-Trade and its Remedy*—and in the course of our conversation, he asked me, What I thought of the Niger undertaking generally, after what I had just seen of Slavery in America? I told him at once that I was very sceptical as to any good result from the undertaking, for two reasons, either of which I thought was sufficiently strong to warrant great doubts on the subject: *First*, because the country in which it was proposed to form a Settlement was a land of death for Europeans—no white man, with the rarest exceptions, being able to stand the climate; and, *secondly*, because, as Great Britain had no black men in sufficient numbers, or of sufficient intelligence and zeal to entrust with the management of such a project (a condition which I considered of absolute necessity to its success) that management would necessarily be entrusted to white men, who would immediately, as had uniformly been the case wherever the white and black races had come in contact in our Colonies, constitute themselves an aristocracy of colour, looking down upon the negro as of an inferior and degraded race, a state of things which I conceived would be fatal to the scheme. Sir Thomas smiled at my incredulity in regard to all the great and good things that were to be done for the negro, as well as for the speedy extinction of Slavery everywhere through the Niger scheme; but the result has proved that I was in the right—the whole undertaking having proved a miserable failure from the first of the reasons I had given against it; but I am quite confident it would have failed equally from the second.

Believing, as I do, that the general improvement and elevation of the African race will never be accomplished till Negro Slavery is extinguished in America; and believing, as I do also, that the extinction of Sla-

very in the United States of America would supply the ablest and best agency in the world for effecting this most desirable consummation, I am strongly of opinion that the most effectual means of hastening on the Abolition of Slavery in the United States would be to form colonies of European freemen to raise the produce that is raised elsewhere, almost universally, by slaves, and thereby to destroy the existing Slaveholding monopoly of that produce in the European markets. That this is perfectly practicable in regard to the formation of a cotton-growing, as well as a sugar-growing colony in Cooksland, I firmly believe; and taking for granted, for the moment, what, I trust, I shall prove satisfactorily and at length in the sequel, that the climate is one of the finest imaginable, and that a European constitution can stand out-door labour in that climate with perfect impunity, I cannot help regarding the proposal as one of the most interesting and important that has ever been submitted to British enterprise and British philanthropy. And the peculiar recommendation of that proposal is, that it involves no risk—no cost whatever. For, assuming that the land is, in great proportion at least, of the qualities and capabilities I have detailed, it will surely be allowed that it must be worth at least a pound an acre (the present Parliamentary minimum price) to the industrious emigrant; and if the requisite means were taken for throwing into the country a numerous and industrious free-emigrant population of the agricultural classes, by purchasing a sufficient extent of such land and having suitable emigrants carried out with the purchase-money, agreeably to the Act of Parliament—affording facilities, at the same time, for a few individuals of that population to acquire the requisite instruction in the cultivation of cotton and sugar, and other tropical productions, and establishing premiums for the cultivation of these articles of produce in the Colony—the energies of the future Colonists, and the capabilities of the country, would be developed simultaneously, and the result would, I am confident, be gratifying in the extreme to Britain and to philanthropy.

It will doubtless be alleged, as an insurmountable objection to this idea, that even although the soil and climate of Cooksland should admit of the cultivation of cotton by means of European free-labour, that labour could never compete with the labour of Slaves in South Carolina or on the banks of the Mississippi; slave-labour being, as is supposed, so much cheaper than free-labour. Now, I deny that slave-labour can possibly be cheaper than free-labour in a climate adapted to the constitution of the free-labourer, provided the latter is working for himself, and not as a mere hired-servant. The food of the freeman in such climates is as cheap as that of the slave; and clothing, in so fine a climate as that of Cooksland, is a mere trifle to the labourer of any description. Why then should the forced labour of the half-rational creature who has been degraded by oppression into a mere assemblage of bones and sinews, the property of a tyrant, and who has no interest whatever in the produce of his labour, be more productive to society, or yield a more remunerative return than the willing toil of the European freeman, labouring for himself and for all he holds dear to him? It would be a libel upon the Divine Beneficence if this were really the fact.

My reasons for supposing that free European labour at Moreton Bay could compete with slave-labour in the Brazils, in the growth and manufacture both of sugar and cotton, are the following,—and the reader will observe that they are deduced from my own observations, as well as from what I learned from intelligent persons long resident in the country, in the course of three visits which I have made to the Brazils, once at Rio de Janeiro in 1823, and twice at Pernambuco in 1839 and 1846.

1. The superior intelligence and energy of the capitalist or employer of labour would be prodigiously in favour of the free emigrant of Cooksland, as compared with the state of things in the Brazils. The latter country, with the finest soil and climate imaginable, is the very “Castle of Indolence,” where human life is mere vegetation, and where the energies of men, for every-

thing that implies progress and advancement in society, are completely gone. It is a vast ruin, in which everything is at a stand-still, or getting into disrepair, and in which it is quite evident everywhere, even to a casual observer, that there must be some mighty incubus, pressing with overpowering weight upon the human mind. And is the lazy indolent Brazilian, swinging in his hammock all day, under his verandah, to be compared with the active and intelligent European, riding about at all hours to see that every man on his establishment is doing his duty?

2. There is a still greater difference, however, (and that difference is all in our favour) in the character of the labourers, in the two cases supposed—the one a poor African negro, stolen from his native country, bought from the thief with his master's money, and worked and treated like a brute; the other an intelligent European, having the entire produce of his labour as his own property, with every inducement that such a man can possibly have to exert himself to the utmost for himself and his family. Is it to be conceived that the former of these labourers can be as valuable to his master in raising produce of any kind as the latter would be to himself? The character of the cultivation, wherever there is anything of the kind even around Pernambuco, the capital of an extensive province, speaks volumes on this subject. It almost uniformly reminds one of the garden of the sluggard.

3. Economy of labour would also afford a great advantage to the European free labourer in Cooksland, as compared with the slave-labour of the Brazils. On the sugar-estate I visited, the field-labour was all performed with the hoe, and the canes were planted accordingly, not in rows at regular distances, but like turnips sown broad-cast. But drill-husbandry, applied to the cultivation of the cane, as it is universally to that of maize, or Indian corn, in New South Wales, would allow the plough to be introduced between the rows, and thereby greatly abridge the amount of manual labour necessary on the part of the cultivator. Other

economical processes of a similar kind would very soon suggest themselves to intelligent European labourers, and be attended with similar results. For instance, what intelligent European would allow a man and a horse to be employed in conveying from the corn-field to the Engenho or Mill, such a miserable back-load as the Brazilian horse carries in his two V panniers? A Scotch peat-car or sledge would carry three times as much.

4. The cost of transport or conveyance would be greatly lighter, whether for sugar or cotton, in Cooksland than in the Brazils. Sugar is generally cultivated near the coast in the latter country; but as there are very few harbours along the coast, it has often to be carried a long way to the port of shipment. Now, as there are no roads in the Brazils, with the exception of a few miles round the principal cities, the only means of transport available in the country are on horseback, or on the heads or shoulders of negroes. In the province of Pernambuco, the cultivation of cotton is confined to the high lands, in order to have a cooler climate—the nearest cotton plantations being from twenty to thirty leagues distant from the city, while some are as far off as a hundred and fifty leagues, or 450 miles. Now the whole of the cotton that is grown in the country is transported for these great distances on horseback, each horse carrying two bags or bales, weighing $4\frac{1}{2}$ arrobas each, or $292\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. altogether, the arroba being equal to $32\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The consequence is, that the price of the article in the port of shipment scarcely pays for the cost of transport, or at all events leaves but the merest trifle for the cultivator. Now, in New South Wales, wool, which at present forms the great staple of the country, has often to be conveyed for as great a distance to the port of shipment as the cotton from the most distant plantations in Pernambuco; but mark the difference in the mode of transport—instead of placing a single bale of wool, which weighs about as much as the Brazilian horse-load, viz. from 250 to 300 lbs. on the back of a horse, and driving a whole

troop of these animals into Sydney or Melbourne, from the distant interior ; twelve or fourteen of these large bales are placed on a single bullock-dray, of which three or four generally travel in company. In the territory of Cooksland, however, there must be at least a thousand miles of land in longitudinal extent and of various breadth, of the first quality for the cultivation of cotton and sugar, *having river-frontage directly accessible to steam navigation* ; where the whole crop could be placed on board a steam-vessel, in many instances close to the spot where it grew, and carried alongside a sailing vessel loading for London, in the principal port of the territory, within twenty-four hours. It is needless to inform the intelligent reader, what a prodigious advantage such a state of things would afford to the European free-labour-cultivator in Australia, as compared with the slave-holder in the Brazils. The difference in the amount of freight to London or Liverpool would be a mere trifle ; for I observe that the freight of cotton from Pernambuco was recently three farthings a pound, while that of wool from Sydney has varied during the last ten or fifteen years from three farthings to three half-pence.

I have no doubt that the equalization of the sugar duties will, by lowering the price and thereby increasing the consumption of sugar in England, supply a considerable stimulus to the cultivation of sugar, and consequently to slavery and the slave-trade in the Brazils. That accursed trade, I ascertained, is going on as briskly as ever in that country, and especially at Pernambuco, which is by far the most conveniently situated port in the empire for this infernal traffic ; being so far to the northward and eastward, and consequently so favourably situated for taking advantage of the South East trade wind, that a vessel from that port may often run across to *the coast*, as it is called, that is to Africa, in half the time she would take either from Bahia or Rio Janeiro. A schooner, of 120 tons, "The Gallant Mary, of Baltimore," had arrived at Pernambuco, a day or two before our arrival from

Sydney, and was then lying in the harbour for sale ; and during the short period of our stay she was purchased for £750, by a slave-merchant in the place, and was to be despatched to *the coast*, a day or two after we sailed for England. She was as beautiful a vessel as I have ever seen, and must have been a remarkably fast sailer. The American crew received three months' wages when she was sold, agreeably to the provisions of the American Navigation Act, to enable them to find their way home from the foreign port.

On touching at Pernambuco in 1839, I happened to look over the lists of arrivals and departures, in a few numbers of the *Diario de Pernambuco*, or Journal of the place, to ascertain whether it was really, as I had been told it was, a complete nest of slave-traders ; and on observing repeated notices of arrivals from Africa with no other cargo than so many barrels of *agoa* or water, I asked my late fellow-countryman and friend, John Loudon, Esq., M.D. R.N., who was then Surgeon of the British Naval Hospital at Pernambuco, what such an entry meant. Dr. L. replied that it was a mere *manœuvre* to practise on the extreme gullibility of the Abolitionists of England, these vessels being all slavers, which, in compliance with the law of the land, and the treaty with England, were precluded from landing their slaves openly in a Brazilian port, but which landed them privately, perhaps thirty or forty miles to the northward or southward of the Port, and then entered themselves at the *Alfandega* or Custom-House, direct from Africa, *with so many barrels of water as they happened to have remaining on board*. This, it seems, satisfied the Brazilian authorities, who of course understood the whole matter perfectly. Slaves in great numbers, I ascertained, are still landed in the same way, but the notices of arrivals from Africa *with water* no longer appear in the *Diario*. The pretext was too gross to be continued !

In such circumstances, I think it is unquestionably the bounden duty of christian and philanthropic men in Great Britain to make one effort more, in the way I have suggested, for the extinction alike of negro

slavery and the African slave-trade, by the application of European labour to the cultivation of both cotton and sugar in the peculiarly genial climate of Cooksland in Australia. Sir Thomas Buxton, as he told me himself, regarded the famous Niger expedition as his last and *only* hope for the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. For my own part, I do not yet consider the case desperate, notwithstanding the entire failure of that ill-advised expedition; for I am confident of success in the grand experiment I propose in New Holland.

The staple production of the province of Rio Janeiro is coffee, of Bahia tobacco, and of Pernambuco sugar and cotton. The produce of Rio Janeiro has increased very greatly during the last twenty years, which may probably have arisen from the vast influx of Europeans, especially French and Germans, into the southern portion of the empire, during that period; but the produce of Pernambuco, into which there has been comparatively little immigration from Europe, although a vast amount from Africa in the form of slaves, has remained stationary for the last ten years. In short, although possessing the highest advantages both of soil and climate, the Brazils are unfortunately subjected to the unrestrained and combined influences of the two greatest curses that have ever afflicted humanity—Slavery on the one hand, and Popery on the other—and the result is a state of morals the most frightful, and of national degradation the most profound. At the opening of the Provincial Assembly of Pernambuco for the year 1846, His Excellency Senhor Souza Teixeira, the President of the province, informed the Assembly, that there had been not fewer than 130 cases of assassination during the previous year, (or rather that this number had come under the notice of the Government,) that is nearly three every week! The proceedings of the Courts of Justice also, when resorted to in such cases, are for the most part a mere farce, the criminal very generally escaping with perfect impunity. I was told by a respectable young man, a watchmaker, from

Switzerland, whom I happened to meet at Pernambuco in 1839, that his brother had been assassinated very shortly before by a mulatto, who had stabbed other two Europeans at the same time, both of whom, however, had recovered. The assassin was apprehended and tried; but being a near relative of a member of the household of the bishop of Pernambuco, great interest was used in the proper quarters to get him off. He was convicted, however, and sentenced to *twelve months' imprisonment!* But even this was thought too severe a punishment for such a crime, and a legal proceeding was in progress at the time, to get the case transferred, not to a higher court, but to another district up the country, to be tried over again; the result of which trial, it was confidently expected, would be the acquittal and liberation of the assassin.

But crimes of a different description—crimes, for example, against the religion of the State—are prosecuted and punished in right earnest. Certain mulattoes who had been converted to Protestant Christianity—by what instrumentality I could not ascertain, but in all probability through that of certain of Dr. Kalley's converts from Madeira—had recently, it appears, been endeavouring to propagate the truths of scriptural religion, chiefly among persons of the humbler class of society at Pernambuco; and, like some of the earlier Reformers in France, they had, in the ardour of their zeal against the monstrous idolatry of the country, collected a number of images of the Virgin Mary, and the other gods and goddesses of Brazilian Popery, and thrown them into the harbour. Unfortunately, however, that monstrous sacrilege, as it was considered, was discovered; the offenders were traced and apprehended, and *impartial justice* had determined very shortly before the period of my visit, that they should be transported as atrocious criminals among the vilest of the human race, to the small island of Fernando da Noronha, situated in latitude 4° S.—the Botany Bay, or place of transportation, for the Brazils. It is a case, evidently, of the deepest interest to every genuine Protestant, and it is

earnestly to be desired that Divine Providence may overrule the sufferings of these Christian confessors—whose names, though unknown in Europe, will nevertheless be held in everlasting remembrance—for the speedy and extensive diffusion of the light of Protestant truth amid the tenfold worse than heathen darkness of the Brazils.

Unbridled licentiousness and general profligacy of manners are the usual accompaniment of slavery wherever it prevails, and Popery has aggravated this peculiar tendency of the system tenfold, the priests being the foremost in corrupting the people; insomuch that a priest who lives in open concubinage with a single female, and has a family of his own, as is not unfrequent in the interior, is regarded as a paragon of virtue, and an object of general confidence in his neighbourhood. Nay, so general is this feeling, and so flagrant the enormity in which it originates, that the Imperial Legislature has been endeavouring of late years to abolish the celibacy, and to legalize the marriages of the Brazilian clergy. There is nothing that more clearly demonstrates the evil influence of Popery in this respect, than the general aspect of society in the exclusively *Romish* slave-cities of Rio Janeiro and Pernamubco, as contrasted with the *Protestant* slave-cities of Charleston and Baltimore in the United States. In the latter, the line of demarcation between the white and black races is strong and evident, the number of mulattoes, the offspring of an intermixture of the races, being astonishingly small; but in the former there seems, from the profligacy of all classes of society, under the influence of Popery, to have been a universal fusion of the two races, insomuch that there are distinct words in common use in the Portuguese language, to mark every shade of colour from the pure African black to the pure European white. Thus an imported African, born in Africa, (*negro de nação*,) is distinguished from a person of pure African blood born in the Brazils; the former being styled *negro* or *negra*, and the latter *preto* or *preta*. If the father or mother has been a mulatto, so

as to give a somewhat lighter shade, a sort of Oxford, or *priest-grey* colour, to the offspring, the latter is designated *pardo* or *parda*. From this darker shade to the pure European, there are the *moleques*, the *mulatos* and *mulatas*, the *mulatinhos* and *mulatinhas*, as will appear from the two following advertisements of slaves for sale, copied respectively from the *Diario de Pernambuco*, and the *Diario Novo* of the 17th October last:—

Diario de Pernambuco, 17 Outubro, 1846.

Vendem-se 12 escravos, sendo : 4 lindos moleques, de 12 a 18 annos : um dito bom cozinheiro ; 2 ditos, de 7 a 10 annos ; 2 pardos, de 17 a 20 annos ; de boa figura ; sendo um delles bon carreiro ; um preto canoeiro, de 30 annos ; uma parda, de 25 annos ; 3 pretas, de 17 a 20 annos, de boas figuras, com algumas habilidades ; uma dita, de 25 annos, com uma cria mulatinha, de 2 annos, com habilidades : na Rua do Collegio, n. 3, Segunda andar.

Diario Novo.

COMPRAS.

Uma negra de 18 annos d'elegante figura, costureira, e cozinheira, e muito propria para todo serviço de casa ; 4 mulatas de 18 a 20 annos, muito boas figuras, e entre estas uma perfeita engomadeira, costureira, rendeira e cozinheira ; quatro muleques de 12 a 14 annos, sem vicios nemachaques, e dous negros de nação comidade de 22 a 30 annos proprios de todo serviço : na Rua da Cadeia de Santo Antonio, n. 25.

TRANSLATION.

For Sale,—12 male slaves ; viz. 4 fine mulattoes, from 12 to 18 years of age ; one ditto, a good cook ; 2 ditto, from 7 to 10 years ; 2 dark mulattoes, from 17 to 20 years, of good figure, one of them a good drayman or bullock-driver ; a black canoe-man, of 30 years ; a dark mulatto woman, of 25 years ; 3 black women, of 17 to 20 years, of various qualifications ; another black woman, of 25 years, with a mulatto female child, of 2 years, with qualifications. College Street, No. 3.

SALES.

An African negress, of handsome figure, 18 years of age, a dress-maker and cook, and very fit for all sorts of house-work ; 4 mulatto women, of 18 to 20 years, very good figures, including an accomplished laundress, a dress-maker, a lace-maker, and a cook ; 4 male mulattoes, of 12 to 14 years, without faults or blemishes ; and 2 African negroes, of 22 to 30 years, fit for all sorts of work. Saint Anthony's, Prison Street, No. 25.

The Brazilians have doubtless a Representative system of Government; their Imperial Assembly at Rio Janeiro resembling the American Congress at Washington, and their Legislative Assemblies in the provinces resembling the separate State Legislatures of that country. They have also, I was happy to learn, a general system of education, of very recent introduction, under the control, not of the priests, but of the Government. They have also managed to break up not a few of those nests of profligacy and villany, the monastic establishments of the country; and an English gentleman at Pernambuco, who is himself married to a Brazilian lady, told me he had not heard of a Brazilian female taking the veil for five or six years past. But what are all these signs of progress in the right direction—what are all these influences for good, compared with the mighty influence for evil which Popery, supported as it is by the system of slavery, still exerts throughout this doomed country? In short, political liberty is a mere farce, utterly worthless for the moral regeneration of a country, unless it is conjoined with that incomparably greater benefit and blessing, *religious liberty*; but of this there is not even the shadow, either in the Brazils or in any of the old Spanish colonies of South America. Surely, then, it is a work of real patriotism to prevent Popery from getting a similar hold, as she is now attempting to do, in real earnest, of the Australian continent and the rest of the Southern Hemisphere.*

* The following extract from a public document emanating from a member of the Brazilian Government, will doubtless be interesting to the reader. It exhibits Popery in the wane even in the Brazils.

“The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the Government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishops and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified:—

“The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves, is surprising. In the pro-

On returning from the Engenho of the brothers Antonio and Francisco, our *conducteur* stopped to bait his horses and to get some refreshment at a house by the wayside, having a pleasure-garden attached to it, which I afterwards found was the frequent resort of Europeans of various nations residing at Pernambuco. As the landlord spoke Portuguese fluently, it did not occur to us that he was a foreigner, and our conversation, therefore, in that language was extremely limited. The

vince of Pará there are parishes which, for twelve years and upwards, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen Settlements, has but one priest; while that of the river Solimocns is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranhão twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

"The bishop of S. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese; and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyabá not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as stated supplies, treat the bishops' efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

"In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but, during nine years past, not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

"It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those priests who die or become incompetent through age or infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

"This is not the place to investigate the cause of such a state of things; but certain it is that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits, is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the

idea, however, having suggested itself to one of our party during our stay, I asked him, in the usual way, if he spoke French, when he replied in German that he did not, informing us that he was a native of Germany who had been twelve years in the Brazils. Having some knowledge of German, I immediately got into conversation with him in his native tongue, and found him a most intelligent man, who knew the country and the people well, and proved very communicative. Happening incidentally to mention that it was our intention, after we returned to Pernambuco, to go out to the city of Olinda, the oldest Portuguese Settlement in the country, and the seat of a College or University—the other two institutions of that kind in the Brazils being respectively at Rio Janeiro and St. Paul's—our host informed us that we were actually a mile nearer Olinda at his house than we should be at Pernambuco, and recommended us by all means to proceed thither direct, as we should thereby not only shorten our route but traverse an interesting part of the country. I accordingly requested him to make a further agreement to this effect with our charioteer, and we proceeded direct to Olinda.

The city of Olinda is situated at the extremity of a

perquisites, established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, *have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times*, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into payment of them, almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble."

Memorial of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs, addressed, in the year 1843, to the Imperial Legislature of the Empire of Brazil.

Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, &c. By Daniel P. Kidder. Two vols. Philadelphia, 1845.

The provincial President of Alagoas, in a speech to the Legislative Assembly, in 1842, says of the churches, "They are in the worst state imaginable. Many of them are either actually falling into ruins, or have no outward similitude to a temple, and are in no way calculated to inspire the respect due to the house of the Lord."—*Ibidem*.

highly picturesque ridge of considerable elevation which forms the northern side of the bay or roadstead of Pernambuco, and runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. It forms the easternmost point of South America, and was the land first seen by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, an intelligent Portuguese shipmaster, who accidentally discovered the Brazils, in the course of a voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1500, only a few years after the discovery of America by Columbus. For as that is the narrowest part of the Atlantic Ocean, and as the south-east trade wind at certain seasons drives outward-bound vessels, intending to double the Cape of Good Hope, very far to the westward, the Brazilian land is not unfrequently made by such vessels even yet, as it was on that occasion by Cabral. The view of the heights at Olinda is exceedingly interesting from the ocean, and it is said that when Cabral first saw them, he exclaimed "O que bonita parte para fundar huma villa!" *O, what a beautiful spot for founding a town!* This idea of the discoverer of the country was accordingly carried out; the city of Olinda was founded, and the usual complement of ecclesiastical buildings, churches, and monasteries successively crowned the heights overlooking the Bay and the Ocean, and a college was at length added for the education of youth; which, although intended originally, I believe, for candidates for the priesthood exclusively, has been recently revolutionized by the present Government, and now contains Faculties of Law and Medicine, as well as an Academy for the preliminary education of youth. The city of Olinda has evidently been at one time a place of considerable importance. At present, however, with the exception of the College, which necessarily attracts the aspiring youth of the northern provinces generally, and for which an extensive brick building, as yet unfinished, has been erected by the Government in addition to the present amount of accommodation, it has a singularly dilapidated, ruinous, and desolate appearance; the streets being overgrown with grass and

everything wearing the aspect of absolute stagnation.* This, however, is to be accounted for in some measure from the superior eligibility of the neighbouring town or city of Recife or Pernambuco for the purposes of commerce. The word *Recife*, which is still the usual name of the town (Pernambuco being properly that of the province), signifies *Reef*, and the place is so called from a remarkable Coral Reef which extends along the coast for a long way both north and south like the Coral Reefs of the South Sea Islands, presenting narrow openings in some places and forming commodious harbours in others. The reef at Pernambuco is about half-a-mile from the beach: it is level with the ocean at high-water and about fifty feet across, and as it terminates abruptly towards Olinda, with a small mustard-pot lighthouse at its extremity, the harbour is merely

* Olinda, *seen from this distance*,† must attract the attention and admiration of every one. Of this city, set upon a hill, one is at a loss whether to admire most the whitened houses and massive temples, or the luxuriant foliage interspersed among them, and in which those edifices on the hill-side seem to be partially buried. From this point a line of high land sweeps inward with a tolerably regular arc, terminating at Cape St. Augustine, and forming a semicircular reconcave, analogous to that of Bahia. The entire summit of these high lands is crowned with green forests and foliage. Indeed, from the outermost range of vision to the very precincts of the city, throughout the extended plain, circumscribed by five-sixths of the imagined arc, scarcely an opening appears to the eye, although in fact the country overlooked is populous and cultivated. Numbers of buildings also, within the suburbs of the city, are overtowered, and wholly or partially hid by the lofty palms, mangueiras, cajueiros, and other trees. The interval between Recife and Olinda is in striking contrast to this appearance. It is a perfectly barren bank of sand, a narrow beach, upon one side of which the ocean breaks, while on the other side, only a few rods distant and nearly parallel, runs a branch of the Beberibe river.

Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, &c. By Daniel P. Kidder. Two vols. Philadelphia, 1845.

† It is pretty evident, I think, that Mr. Kidder did not actually visit Olinda, but wrote his account of it from the ship's deck, several miles off. There is a sad falling off observable on seeing it so closely as I did.

the space included between the reef and the shore, which admits of vessels drawing not more than thirteen feet water. In the hands of the English or Dutch, it would soon form a magnificent harbour, and could easily be deepened for the largest vessels of burden : but everything of this kind is left to nature by the indolent Brazilian ; for even the filling up of certain faults or openings in the reef with large blocks of granite, as well as everything else in the shape of public works for the improvement of the place, was effected by the Dutch during the short period they had possession of this part of the Brazils in the seventeenth century. The town of Recife or Pernambuco is intersected by two broad but shallow inlets communicating with the harbour, one of which runs up to Olinda, a distance of eight miles. Across these inlets there are long wooden bridges, connecting the three portions into which the town is thus divided. In the newest of these divisions the streets are of convenient width, and the houses and shops of respectable appearance ; but in the old town the streets* are narrower than the narrowest lanes at home, and as filthy as Portuguese towns usually are. The population of Pernambuco, of all colours, is estimated at 120,000.

To return to Olinda. As it was chiefly to see the college that our party had been induced to visit this ancient and ruinous city, we directed our course towards that Institution. The building, which is beautifully situated on a height overlooking the Bay of Pernambuco and the Atlantic Ocean, had much the appearance of a Romish convent, for which I have no doubt it was originally intended. One of the professors, whom I met in one of the corridors and addressed in Latin, informing him we were Englishmen who had come to Olinda to see the college, very courteously

* For instance, the streets *Rua da Virgo*, "The Virgin Street," and *Rua de Madre de Dios*, "Mother of God Street," (what a name !) are scarcely wide enough for two wheelbarrows to pass each other.

showed us into a sort of Common Hall, the appearance of which very strongly reminded me of my own *Alma Mater*. It had a pulpit for the professor elevated on a platform, with a painting of the Emperor Don Pedro under a canopy at his right. The rows of benches were all on the same level, with a passage between the opposite rows to the right and left the whole length of the room. The students, of whom there was a considerable number present, were to all appearance intelligent young men, generally dressed in black and carrying in their hands light canes—an appendage which appeared to me to contrast rather oddly with the business of an Academical Institution.

One of the senior students, who very courteously conducted us to a seat, finding I could not speak Portuguese, and being himself unable to speak French, in which language I addressed him, left us for a few seconds, and returned with a young Brazilian gentleman who spoke French, and undertook the office of *Cicerone*. The business in progress, he informed me, was the concluding examination of a candidate for the Degree of Bachelor-of-Laws, who appeared to be defending a Thesis, and seemed from his modest, unassuming manner, conjoined with an air of confidence, which I thought I could understand, to be maintaining his position remarkably well.

After spending some time in the Common Hall, our Brazilian friend conducted us into a smaller classroom, for the Medical Department of the Institution, where, as far as I could understand the subject, a sort of conversational lecture appeared to be in progress on the Practice of Physic. When we had spent a sufficient length of time in this class-room, and found that the other classes had been dismissed, the Brazilian informed me that the Degree of Bachelor-of-Laws was about to be conferred on the successful candidate for that honour, and that if I wished to see the ceremony observed on the occasion, he would be happy to conduct me back to the Hall. I told him I should accompany him with great pleasure, especially as I had the

honour of holding an Academical Degree myself, which, although not quite the same as the one to be conferred, gave me a right to sympathize with those who had been passing through a similar ordeal. In passing along, I was introduced to the Professor of Law, who spoke French, and who, in common with the young Brazilian, and some of the other graduates of the College to whom he mentioned the circumstance, seemed much interested at the presence of a graduate of a European University on such an occasion. They wished particularly to know to what University I belonged, and what degree I held, as well as my position in the remote country from which I had come. I told them in reply that I belonged to the University of Glasgow, in Scotland, my native country, from which I held the degree of *Master of Arts*, and that my fellow-citizens, in the remote British Colony from which we had come, and in which I had spent a considerable part of my life, had done me the honour to elect me one of the members of their Legislative Body. A volunteer confession of "heretical pravity" would, I imagined, have served no good purpose at the moment; and with this reasonable portion of the truth, and nothing but the truth, they were all apparently remarkably satisfied.

In conferring the Degree of Bachelor-of-Laws, the President of the Institution delivered from the pulpit an address in Portuguese to the successful candidate. He then descended from the pulpit, and took up, from a table adjoining, a red velvet cap, with silk tassels, (*bonnet rouge*) which he placed upon the head of the candidate, repeating the words of inauguration, which, however, I was too far off to catch. The new-made Bachelor then bowed to the President, who descended from the platform, and occupied a side-seat below. The Bachelor then ascended the pulpit, and sitting down read from a written paper, in Portuguese, an expression of his gratitude for the honour conferred upon him. The Bachelor then descended from the pulpit, and received a fraternal embrace from the other members of the College, and as I had been introduced in

the meantime as a graduate of a European University, I had the honour for the first time of observing this ancient custom in receiving the young Brazilian graduate as *one of us*.

My Brazilian friend, who, singularly enough, proved to be of Scottish descent, although I was not aware of the circumstance at the moment—his name being Antonio de Vasconcellos Menezes de Drummond—was anxious to know what the ceremony was in conferring Degrees in the Scotch University to which I had belonged. I told him that it was much the same as with themselves, the Degree being conferred by the Principal or President of the College placing a black velvet cap or bonnet on the head of the candidate, and repeating a certain form of words; but that instead of a fraternal embrace, we merely gave the right hand of fellowship to the graduate. The Brazilian smiled, observing that embracing was not one of our national customs. It was perhaps as well for our character as Protestants, in the estimation of these Brazilians, that I did not recollect at the moment that the candidate *kneels on one knee* when receiving his Degree at the Scotch University, whereas the Brazilian stands erect, which I certainly think the more appropriate posture of the two. Neither did it strike me, till I was on my way back to Pernambuco, that the Statutes of our University had been drawn up, and its ceremonial in all likelihood regulated by the celebrated Scotch historian and poet, George Buchanan, who had been himself for some time a Professor in the University of Coimbra in Portugal.

The number of Students in the College at Olinda is about 200. I was much pleased both with my visit and my reception. It was evident that I was as much an object of curiosity and interest to the Brazilians, as their Institution was to me; and as I happened rather unexpectedly to go on board-ship the same evening, after returning to Pernambuco, and consequently lost the pleasure of a visit from my Scoto-Brazilian friend, Senhor Drummond, which he promised to pay me

at the Hotel Francisco, I sent him a note, along with the following expression of my good wishes for his cousin, the young Bachelor-of-Laws, in the hope that it might possibly serve to cultivate a friendly feeling on the part of men of education towards individuals of my own country and nation, in a part of the Brazilian territory which I was not likely ever to visit again.

Viro admodum eximio,
Utriusque juris peritissimo,
JOANNI FRANCISCO DUARTE,

Qui hodie in aedibus Collegii inclyti Olindinensis, Braziliorum,
Legum Baccalaureatus gradum et honores merito ac summa
laude consecutus est,

Ut omnia felicia faustaque eveniant, necnon ut
Summos ad honores inter Jurisconsultos celeberrimos Imperii
Braziliensis, quam citissime provehatur,
Deum Optimum Maximum, per Jesum Christum hominum unicum
Redemptorem, humillime ac lubentissime precatur

JOANNES DUNMORE LANG, Scotus,

Universitatis Glasguensis apud Scotos alumnus,
Artium Magister et Theologiae in eadem Universitate Doctor,
necnon per suffragia civium suorum, in Colonia Britannica
quae in Terrae Australis partibus Orientalibus sita est,
habitantium,

Unus e Senatu Provinciali istius Coloniae,
Nunc in civitate Pernambucensi, rei frumentariae causa triduum
commorans,

Cras in Britanniam navigaturus.

Olindae Braziliorum, Decimo Sexto Kalend. Novemb. A.D. 1846.

The whole circumstance had completely faded from my memory, when about a week after my arrival in England, I received a large packet of papers, with a foreign address, which I found had narrowly escaped the oblivion of the dead-letter office, after having failed to find me at the University of Glasgow, to which it was addressed. It contained a very kind and rather flattering letter in French from my Brazilian friend, Senhor Drummond, who, I found, from a Compendium of Roman History he had translated from the French into Portuguese, of which he sent me a copy, was a

native of Pernambuco, a "Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Conception de Portugal, Bachelier en Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Membre Correspondant de l'Institut Historique de France, de l'Academie Tiberine de Rome, de la Societé Auxiliatrice de l'Industrie Nationale de Rio de Janeiro, et Membre Honoraire de l'Institut Littéraire de Maranham." It also contained another letter in French, of which the following is a copy, from the young Bachelor-of-Laws, Senhor Duarte, informing me that I had been proposed and elected an Honorary Member of the Literary Institute of Olinda, and enclosing my Diploma; of which, as a literary curiosity, I shall subjoin a copy, leaving both documents for the special benefit of the learned reader, in their original tongues:—

PERNAMBUC, LE 13, *Novembre* 1846.

Monsieur le Docteur JEAN DUNMORE LANG,

Profondement sensible aux preuves non équivoques de consideration distinguée, que j'ai reçues de vous pendant votre court séjour chez nous a l'occasion de votre visite à la Faculté d'Olinde, au moment que j' atteignois le but de mes études littéraires, en obtenant l'honorable grade de Bachelier en Droit, je m'empresse de venir aujourd'hui vous temoigner la douce impression que je tiens de votre souvenir.

J'espere, M. le Docteur, que vous continuerez a me donner l'occasion d'apprécier votre estime et bienveillante consideration, dont je tacherai d'être toujours digne.

En gage de ma profonde gratitude je viens vous offrir le Diplôme de Membre Honoraire de l'Institut Olindense, lequel dès a present vous considere une de ses plus brillantes illustrations.

Agreez, M. le Docteur, l'expression sincere de mes sentimens affectueux.

Votre dévoué et tres-humble serviteur,

JOAO FRANCISCO DUARTE.

DIPLOMA.

Aos Sabios de Todos os Tempos.

José Bonifacio.
Padre Vieira.
Caldas.
Maricá.
Antonio Cárlos.
V. de Cayru'.
M. Arruda C.
Martim Franco.
Magalhães.
Gonzaga.
Mariz.
Vasconcellos.

INSTITUTO LITTERARIO OLINDENSE.
O illustrissimo Senhor Dr. João Dunmore Lang, foi proposto e approvado para Socio Honorario do INSTITUTO LITTERARIO OLINDENSE em Sessão de 24 de Outubro do anno de 1846. E para testemunho Publico lhe envia o presente Diploma.

Dado na Cidade de Olinda aos 30 de Outubro de 1846.

Presidente
Jeronimo Cabral Raposo da Camara.

Secretario
Henrique Cavalcanti d'Albuquerque.

Platão.
Homero.
Aristoteles.
Plutharco.
Newton.
Bacon.
Linco.
La Place.
Des Cartes.
Horacio.
Virgilio.
Camões.

I shall only add, that if Englishmen were more frequently to exhibit a friendly feeling and deportment towards enlightened foreigners of any nation whatever, it would not unfrequently be attended with the happiest results. We are too shy, too reserved, too exclusive as a people; and the circumstance tells not only against us individually, but even against our common Protestantism, as being, in the estimation of foreigners, an anti-social and repulsive system, that discards even the common courtesies and charities of humanity. The large room in which I occupied a sofa for the night, in the Hotel Francisco, at Pernambuco, was the place of meeting of a club of Englishmen, residing in the city, who assembled in it periodically for certain purposes of their own; and I observed, not without a feeling of indignation, that it was one of the fundamental rules of the club, that no native of the country could be admitted to membership in its body. How different was the feeling of the Jewish prophet when he wrote from Jerusalem to the Jews in Babylon, "to seek the good of the land" in which they dwelt!

CHAPTER VII.

NATURE AND SALUBRITY OF THE CLIMATE OF COOKSLAND.

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis.

HORAT. Epist. I., Ad Maecenat. 83.

'Tis strange, but true ; for all our Galens say,
There's not a healthier clime than Moreton Bay.

HORACE in *Australia*.

As Great Britain has hitherto had no Colonies in so low a latitude as Cooksland, with the exception of the West Indies, and the other inter-tropical Colonies in which every description of field-labour has hitherto been performed by people of colour, and as there has consequently been no experience in the mother-country in regard to the effects of such a climate on the constitution of the European labourer, I deemed it absolutely necessary, before undertaking the serious responsibility of recommending an extensive emigration of Europeans to that country, to be employed in the various labours of the field to which the soil and climate peculiarly invite the Colonial farmer, to have this point satisfactorily ascertained.

It is generally known that the Southern Hemisphere, especially in the higher latitudes of the Temperate Zone, is much colder than the Northern. At the Auckland Islands, situated in lat. 50° S., to the southward of New Zealand, at which I touched on my first voyage to England from New South Wales, in the year

1824, I found the vegetation of very much the same character as that of the Northern Frigid Zone—the land being overgrown with moss, while the trees with which the Island was covered were all of a stunted, dwarfish appearance, throwing out numberless branches in a horizontal direction, about three feet from the ground, under which the seals from the surrounding ocean had made innumerable tracks through the forest exactly like the sheep-tracks along a hill-side in Scotland. And on being driven by northerly winds a long way to the eastward, in the South Atlantic Ocean, after doubling Cape Horn on a subsequent voyage to Europe, in the year 1830, we found the island of South Georgia, situated in latitude 54° S., surrounded with innumerable large fragments of floating ice, which had evidently been detached from the huge masses of that material which seemed, as they reflected from a distance the beams of the morning sun, to flank the whole line of the inhospitable shore, the lofty mountains of the interior of the island being covered with eternal snow.

It must doubtless have been the same island of which Dr. Forster, one of the companions of Captain Cook, on his last voyage round the world, speaks in the following terms:—"When we came towards the 54° of S. latitude, we found a small island of about eighty leagues in circumference, the thermometer continuing at about 30° , 32° , and 34° in its neighbourhood, in the midst of summer; though isles have in general a milder climate than continents, we found, however, all this country entirely covered with immense loads of snow, the bottoms of its bays were choked up with solid masses of ice, of 60 or 80 feet above water."

"The ingenious M. de Buffon says, 'The navigators pretend that the continent of the Austral lands is much colder than that of the Arctic Pole; but there is not the least appearance that this opinion is well-founded, and probably it has been adopted by voyagers on no other account than because they found ice in a latitude where it is seldom or ever to be met with in our North-

ern Seas ; but that may be produced by some peculiar causes.* If we compare the meteorological observations made at Falkland Islands, at about 51° S. latitude, and communicated by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. in his *Collection of Voyages chiefly to the Southern Atlantic Ocean*, with such as are every where made in Europe in corresponding degrees of latitude of the Northern Hemisphere ; if we consider that in Tierra del Fuego, Staten-Land, and South Georgia, from 54° to 56° South latitude, and in Sandwich Land, in about 58° and 59° South latitude, the whole land is covered with eternal snow, to the shores of the sea, in the months of December and January, corresponding to our June and July ; every unprejudiced reader will find it necessary to allow the temperature of the Southern Hemisphere to be remarkably colder than that of the Northern, and no one will, I believe, for the future venture to question this curious fact in the Natural History of our Globe."

" Having maturely considered every circumstance, I find that, with other causes founded on the apparent motion of the sun, *the absence of land in the higher latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere creates this material difference in the temperature of the air, between the corresponding degrees of latitude in the Arctic and the Antarctic Hemispheres.*"

" Nor can we omit the well-known circumstance, that the sun moves eight days longer in the Northern than in the Southern Signs of the Zodiac. This makes the winter eight days longer, and their summer eight days shorter, which altogether must cool the Southern Hemisphere by a $22\frac{1}{6}$ th, or very nearly by a 23d part more than the Arctic regions."

" The repeated approaches of our ship to the Antarctic circle was often announced by the fall of snow, sleet, and hail ; but the first year, in 1772, we had snow very early in the latitude of 51° on December 11th. In the course of the following years, we never had

* Buffon's Natural History, I. p. 312.

snow, except when we came into the neighbourhood of that circle. However it must be observed, that this happened during the height of summer: what weather then must not the winter season afford? We were happy enough to meet with no land to the Southward, which might have seduced us to spend a cold season somewhere on it, and to experience the rigours of an Antarctic winter.”*

Now, although this distinguished philosopher may have been in error in assuming that “the absence of land in the higher latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere” is the cause of the greater degree of cold in that Hemisphere—especially as recent discoveries have proclaimed the existence of an extensive Continent in these high Southern latitudes—the fact is unquestionable, and that fact may not unreasonably be supposed to imply a lower mean temperature throughout the entire Continent of Australia, than would be experienced in any similar extent of land included within the corresponding parallels of latitude in the Northern Hemisphere. This unaccountable influence indeed appears to be felt even in the Torrid Zone, where also the temperature is often much lower in the corresponding latitudes of the Southern than in those of the Northern Hemisphere.

In a *Precis* of the results of the voyage of the discovery-ship *Beagle*, Captain Wickham, R.N., and afterwards Captain Stokes, R.N., drawn up by Captain P. P. King, R.N., and published in the *Sydney Herald* of Feb. 10, 1843, it is observed that “The next important feature of the *Beagle*’s voyage was the discovery of two considerable rivers at the bottom of the Gulf of Carpentaria, flowing through a fine country in a southeasterly direction for sixty miles, navigable for thirteen miles for vessels of thirteen feet draught, and to within five miles of where the water is fresh; the boats, how-

* Observations made during a Voyage round the World, &c. By JOHN REINOLD FORSTER, LL.D., London 1778, p. 86-109, *passim*.

ever, traced it for nearly fifty miles farther, to the latitude of $17^{\circ} 59'$ and longitude $139^{\circ} 30'$. *The climate was found in the month of August to be of an agreeable character, the thermometer indicating an average temperature of 60° , the minimum being 50° . To these rivers the names of Albert and Flinders were given. The character of the country is low, and the soil chiefly alluvial. No satisfactory reason has been given for the low temperature of this tropical region, which, as the latitude is about 17° , ought to have been at least 70° or 75° .*

But this general rule, viz., that the Southern Hemisphere is much colder than the Northern, must be taken with several important modifications or exceptions; and the first of these is, that the temperature throughout the year is much more equable in the corresponding latitudes of the Southern than in those of the Northern Hemisphere; for if the summer heat is not so great in the former, neither is the cold of winter so intense—a circumstance which is doubtless owing to the much greater extent of ocean in the Southern Hemisphere. In the city of Charleston, in America, situated in lat. $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., I ascertained that the orange could not be grown either in the vicinity of that city or in those of Savannah and New Orleans, considerably farther south, in consequence of the intense frost in winter; and I observed that in the middle of April, the period of my visit, the interior of the churches in Charleston was still deformed by the ugly tin tubes that traverse them in all directions for the circulation of artificially heated air during the winter. These are regularly removed every summer, but the summer had not fairly set in in Charleston even in the middle of April. But the orange grows luxuriantly in the vicinity of Sydney in latitude 34° S., and artificial heat is never thought of for warming the interior of churches in winter even at Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, situated in 43° S., eleven degrees higher than Charleston. Frosts are not unusual in winter even at Moreton Bay, but they do no harm to the vegetation; and on the high lands of the district, as on the Darling Downs and towards the

sources of the Logan and the Clarence, the cold is often intensely severe.

At the same time it cannot be denied that the subject of the temperature of the Southern Hemisphere is one of considerable difficulty, and presents great anomalies. For example (to quote the language of the *North British Review* for November 1845, p. 236)—

“The mean temperature of the equator, which Humboldt had made $81\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, Sir David Brewster made $82^{\circ} 15''$ Fahrenheit—a result adopted by Professor Berghaus of Berlin. The equator of temperature, or the line of maximum heat, crosses the real equator in long. 102° near Singapore, passes through Socotra and Konka in Africa, both to the north of the parallel of 12° , dips to within 2° of the equator in W. long. 18° , rises again till it passes north of the South American continent in 12° N. lat., and sinking rapidly to within 3° of the equator, it crosses it in 150° of W. long., and again descending 7° south of the equator, it gradually rises to it at Singapore.”

Agreeably to this theory, the meridian of the East Coast of Australia cannot be far distant from the point at which the equator of temperature or line of greatest heat on the globe—which crosses the real equator from the northward in 150° West Longitude, or about sixty degrees to the eastward of that coast—reaches its highest Southern latitude of 7° S.; for as the equator of temperature again crosses the real equator and passes into the Northern Hemisphere in 102° E. longitude, near Singapore, the midway between these two points will be 154° E., which is nearly the meridian of Cape Byron, the easternmost part of the Australian land. Whether this theory is borne out in the summer heat of Australia, which, with the exception of the occasional hot winds of New South Wales (which seem to be due to local causes), is probably not greater than that of corresponding latitudes whether in Europe or America, to the northward of the Line, if, indeed, it is equally great, I shall not pretend to determine; but it is certainly borne out in the far greater mildness of the Australian winter.

In confirmation of these observations—in regard, at least, to the greater mildness of the winter in the

Southern Hemisphere—I may add, that a few weeks after the preceding paragraphs were written, our good ship, having doubled Cape Horn on the 21st of August of the past year (1846), we had a succession of calms, northerly winds, and much fine weather for three weeks thereafter, between the Cape and the latitude of the Falkland Islands. The season corresponded to the end of February and beginning of March in the Northern Hemisphere, and the weather on shore at these islands must have been quite delightful for that season. In short, the first mild weather we could be said to have had the whole way from Sydney, with the exception of a day or two off the northern extremity of New Zealand, was off Cape Horn; but we experienced no really cold weather the whole way across the Southern Pacific (which we crossed between the parallels of 45° and 55°), although in the cold season of the year, till we made the land at that Cape. We saw the islands of Cape Horn, Diego Ramirez, Tierra del Fuego, and Staten Land, for days together; the high lands of the whole of which were covered with snow. A tremendous sea had struck our ship a week before doubling Cape Horn, which carried away all our bulwarks, drowned the whole of our remaining sea-stock, smashed into a hundred pieces a large boat that was lashed, bottom up, for greater security, on the skylight over the poop—the highest part of the vessel—and did us considerable damage besides. We were to have made the voyage to London direct; but, in consequence of this disaster, the captain informed me he intended to touch at Pernambuco, in the Brazils, for a supply of stock. As I had been there before, however, I requested him rather to touch at the Falkland Islands, as I wished to learn some particulars respecting the meteorology of that country, as well as to ascertain its condition and prospects as a British Settlement, which he very willingly agreed to do; but the wind proving unfavourable, we were obliged to run too far to the eastward to make the islands, and we eventually touched at Pernambuco.

From the elevation of the Coast-Range, which traverses the whole extent of Cooksland from South to North, generally at a distance of from sixty to seventy miles from the ocean, and which attains an average height of 4000 feet, and from the various cross-ranges and detached mountains that either intersect or stud the intervening country, this portion of the Australian territory is, generally speaking, blessed with a regular and abundant supply of rain ; and the vicinity of the intertropical regions of the North gives these rains a tropical character which is not experienced in the meteorology of New South Wales. The months of January and February constitute the rainy season, although the rains occasionally commence about the middle of December, as was the case in the year 1845, the driest year that had been experienced at the Settlement. The following letter, which I had the honour of receiving from Captain Wickham, R.N., formerly commanding H. M. Surveying-ship *Beagle*, on the North Coast of Australia, and now Police Magistrate at Brisbane, Moreton Bay (in which office, I am happy to add, he is universally respected), with the accompanying abstract of the meteorological journal he has kept since the period of his appointment to that office, will exhibit the average temperature, the prevailing winds, and the quantity of rain that fell monthly during a period of nearly three years, up to the 31st of December 1845 :—

To the Rev. Dr. LANG, M. C., Sydney.

BRISBANE, *January 9, 1845.*

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to forward to you the enclosed Abstract of the weather-journal I have kept since my arrival at Moreton Bay in the beginning of 1843. I regret to say that I have been unable to make any barometrical observations, in consequence of my barometer having been injured on the passage from Sydney ; but still I think there is sufficient to give *some idea* of our seasons, although three years' observations are not sufficient data to enable one to come to any conclusion in the matter.

Mr. Wm. Kent kept an account of the rain that fell during the years 1840 and 1841 ; and tells me that in 1840 29.318 inches fell, and 49.309 in 1841.

You will observe that in 1843 the quantity of rain mentioned in my abstract fell in the latter eight months of that year, as I did not commence my meteorological journal before May ; nevertheless, fully as much rain fell in the four preceding months as fell during the same months of 1844.

I beg you will excuse the hasty manner in which the abstract is drawn out ; but the Bramble having arrived last evening, I am anxious to lose as little time as possible in arranging for something to be done towards the survey of our bay, as Lieut. Yule tells me he can only remain with us four or five days ; at the same time, I wish the enclosed to reach you as soon as possible.

I remain, DEAR SIR,

Very truly yours,

J. W. WICKHAM.

ABSTRACT of WEATHER JOURNAL, kept at MORETON BAY, by CAPTAIN WICKHAM, R.N.

Months.	1843.			1844.			1845.		
	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.
JANUARY,					Early part N.E. only ; latter part variable, with thunder and lightning at times from N.E. & N.W.	10.947	77.5 77.3 75.0	Between S. and S.E. in the morning, and N.E. from 10 or 11 A.M., until sunset.	2.474
FEBRUARY, . . .					South-easterly.	9.125	76.7 75.1 79.0	Between S.W. and S.E. in the morning, and N. E. during the latter part of the day.	4.236
MARCH,					Easterly.	1.923	75.1 74.8 74.7	Mostly South-east this month.	2.770
APRIL,					South-easterly.	3.169	70.1 68.8 66.3	First part of month S. and S.E. in morning, and N.E. during day ; latter part of month mostly S.W.	4.517
MAY,		Between S.E. and S.S.E.	1.550		Between South-east and North-east.	7.603	64.6 61.4 60.8	Mostly between South- west and South-east.	2.435
JUNE,		South-easterly.	4.794	57.5 51.5	South-westerly.	1.696	55.2 54.0 54.3	Chiefly South-west.	0.433

ABSTRACT of WEATHER JOURNAL,—(continued.)

Months.	1843.			1844.			1845.		
	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.	Average Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Inches of Rain.
JULY,		Between South-west & South-east; at times North-easterly in the afternoon.	6.921	52.8 53.6 53.9	South-westerly and South-easterly.	2.736	55.7 60.1 54.4	South-westerly.	1.242
AUGUST,		Between South-east and North-east; occasional squalls with thunder and lightning from SW & NW.	2.926	57.2 60.0 60.5	South-westerly, and at times North-east in the afternoon.	6.643	55.5 61.0	South-westerly, and occasionally North-east & Northerly in the afternoon.	1.644
SEPTEMBER, . .		Variable; occasional thunder-squalls, from South-west and North-west.	2.269	61.8 63.2 66.7	South-westerly.	3.985	61.5 64.0 66.8	Southerly and South-west in early part of day, and after that North-easterly.	1.020
OCTOBER, . . .		As in September.	1.681	65.9 70.5 69.2	Light South-west winds at night, and until 9 or 10 A.M., and then North-easterly until sun-set.	5.007	70.1 66.8 75.1	First part of month Easterly; second part, South-west A.M., and North-east P.M.	1.523
NOVEMBER, . .		North-easterly.	1.399	74.6 73.4 75.0	As in October.	5.804	76.4 76.4 81.5	Southerly in the early part of the day, and then North-easterly.	2.884
DECEMBER, . .		Easterly; occasional thunder-squalls from South and South-west.	5.341	71.2 74.9 75.8	Early part of month S. Easterly, and from 10th Southerly in the morning, and N.E. after 10 A.M.	4.573	80.5 72.8 80.7	As in November.	13.913
Total, 26.181 Inches for 8 months.				Total, 63.211 Inches.			Total, . . 39.091		

I am happy to have it also in my power to exhibit the following rough Journal of the Weather, kept at a sheep-station on the Logan River, from the 1st May 1845, to the 1st May 1846, by John Kinchela, Esq., a son of the late Judge Kinchela, of New South Wales :—

MEMORANDA AS TO THE STATE OF THE WEATHER, kept at the LOGAN RIVER, MORETON BAY, in 1845 and 1846.

May 1845.—Of this month 19 days were fine and clear ; wind chiefly S.W. ; heavy dews at night ; 6 days were sultry, cloudy, with occasional thunder ; 3 days showery ; and 3 days, viz. 11th, 13th, and 27th, heavy rain.

June.—This month was distinguished by a continuance of hard frosts at night ; wind S. and S.W. ; on the 11th considerable rain fell ; some showers on the 17th, and a thunder-storm on the 25th at sunset.

July.—This month was similar to the preceding, except the frost was not so severe. From the 10th to 14th cloudy and threatening, but only a trifling quantity of rain fell.

August.—The frost continued frequent during the month ; weather generally clear ; occasional squalls, with threatening aspect, and showery on the 24th, 27th, and 31st.

September.—Showery on the 5th, 9th, 10th, and 15th ; frost broke up about the 18th ; the remainder was clear and cool.

October.—Showery 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th, the weather becoming milder ; the rest of the month fine and clear.

November.—Warm and clear during this month, with slight showers on the 3d and 14th, and thunder-storms on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 29th.

December.—Heavy rain on the 10th, 12th, 13th, 16th, and 17th ; thunder showers 3d, 21st, 22d, 24th, 27th, and 30th ; the remainder warm and clear.

January 1846.—Thunder and lightning very frequent, unaccompanied by rain ; showery on 3d and 14th ; heavy rain on the 10th ; weather fine and clear for the remainder of the month ; heat powerful.

February.—Rain on the 4th, 8th, 10th, 18th, and 25th ; chiefly thunder-showers ; heat oppressive ; clear weather during the rest of the month.

March.—Heavy rain on the 15th and 31st ; occasional thunder without rain ; the remainder of the month clear and cool.

April.—No rain during this month ; the weather fine, clear, and warm.

May 1845,	.	.	3 days rain.	...	3 days showery.
June,	.	.	2 "	...	1 "
July,	.	.	0 "	...	2 "
August,	.	.	0 "	...	3 "
September,	.	.	0 "	...	4 "
October,	.	.	0 "	...	4 "
November,	.	.	4 "	...	2 "
December,	.	.	5 "	...	6 "
January 1846,	.	.	1 "	...	2 "
February,	.	.	0 "	...	5 "
March,	.	.	2 "	...	0 "
April,	.	.	0 "	...	0 "
			—		—
			17		32
					17
					—
					49

JOHN KINCHELA.

TELUNON, LOGAN RIVER, 23d May 1846.

To these valuable documents, I would add the following abstract of a Meteorological Journal kept on the Upper Brisbane, exhibiting a comparative view of the weather in that part of the territory for the months of February, March, and April, during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846, extracted from the Sydney Herald:—

Meteorological Report for the Upper Brisbane District, Moreton Bay, for the Month of February, (corresponding to July in Europe,) of the years 1844, 1845, and 1846.

FEBRUARY, 1844.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month, 72°, 16 Fahrenheit.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	1 days	S.	.	4 days
N.E.	.	6 "	S.W.	.	2 "
E.	.	5 "	W.	.	0 "
S.E.	.	11 "	N.W.	.	0 "
Force—Calm			5 days.		
Moderate			19 "		
Strong breeze			5 "		

Weather.

Sun shone out 7 days; rain fell 18 days; thunder 7 days.

FEBRUARY, 1845.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 79°, 6, Fahrenheit.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	1 days	S.	.	3 days
N.E.	.	2 "	S.W.	.	2 "
E.	.	4 "	W.	.	3 "
S.E.	.	9 "	N.W.	.	4 "
Force—Calm		13 days.			
Moderate		12 "			
Strong breeze		3 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 27 days ; rain fell 11 days ; thunder 7 days.

FEBRUARY, 1846.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 83°, 13 Fahrenheit.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	5 days	S.	.	2 days
N.E.	.	5 "	S.W.	.	0 "
E.	.	9 "	W.	.	1 "
S.E.	.	5 "	N.W.	.	1 "
Force—Calm		5 days.			
Moderate		15 "			
Strong breeze		8 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 25 days ; rain fell 9 days ; thunder 6 days.

Upper Brisbane River Meteorological Report for the Months of March, 1844, 1845, 1846.

MARCH, 1844.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month, 73·29 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	2 days	S.	.	4 days
N.E.	.	13 "	S.W.	.	7 "
E.	.	1 "	W.	.	0 "
S.E.	.	4 "	N.W.	.	0 "
Force—Calm		5 days			
Moderate		17 "			
Strong breeze		9 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 31 days ; rain fell 9 days ; thunder 5 days.

MARCH, 1845.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 75·29 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	3 days	S.	.	2 days
N.E.	.	3 "	S.W.	.	0 "
E.	.	5 "	W.	.	2 "
S.E.	.	12 "	N.W.	.	4 "
Force—Calm		4 days.			
Moderate		20 "			
Strong breeze		7 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 30 days ; rain fell 10 days ; thunder 4 days.

MARCH, 1846.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 81·5 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	5 days	S.	.	6 days
N.E.	.	7 "	S.W.	.	1 "
E.	.	3 "	W.	.	2 "
S.E.	.	5 "	N.W.	.	2 "
Force—Calm		1 days.			
Moderate		23 "			
Strong breeze		7 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 31 days ; rain fell 6 days ; thunder 11 days.

Upper Brisbane River Meteorological Report for the Months of April 1844, 1845, 1846.

APRIL, 1844.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month, 68·12 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	0 days	S.	.	4 days
N.E.	.	4 "	S.W.	.	2 "
E.	.	0 "	W.	.	3 "
S.E.	.	9 "	N.W.	.	8 "
Force—Calm		3 days.			
Moderate		21 "			
Strong breeze		6 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 27 days ; rain fell 12 days ; thunder 3 days.

APRIL, 1845.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 71·8 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	1 days	S.	.	2 days
N.E.	.	3 "	S.W.	.	1 "
E.	.	2 "	W.	.	4 "
S.E.	.	13 "	N.W.	.	4 "
Force—Calm		5 days.			
Moderate		23 "			
Strong breeze		2 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 27 days ; rain fell 9 days ; thunder 5 days.

APRIL, 1846.

Thermometer.

Mean daily temperature for the month 74·3 degrees.

Wind.

Direction.			Direction.		
N.	.	2 days	S.	.	4 days
N.E.	.	0 "	S.W.	.	6 "
E.	.	11 "	W.	.	2 "
S.E.	.	3 "	N.W.	.	2 "
Force—Calm		1 days.			
Moderate		21 "			
Strong breeze		8 "			

Weather.

Sun shone out 30 days ; rain fell 3 days ; thunder 3 days.

From these documents it will be evident to the reader, that the temperature at Moreton Bay, even in the heat of summer, is comparatively moderate—that the rains are regular and abundant, and that the climate is remarkably equable, and by no means unfavourable to a European constitution. It is a remarkable circumstance in the meteorology of this part of the coast as compared with that of New South Wales, that while the sea-breeze is much more regular at Moreton Bay than in Sydney, the hot north-west winds, which are so oppressive in Sydney, and occasionally fatal to vegetation, are not experienced at Moreton Bay ; the region in which they originate—in all probability the desert in the interior recently discovered by Captain

Sturt—being too far to the westward for a northerly wind passing over it to reach that part of the coast. In confirmation of this opinion, a respectable Squatter on the Darling Downs, where the winds are always either easterly or westerly, has informed me that they do occasionally experience a hot wind in that part of the district, and that such winds are uniformly from the west.

But the grand distinguishing feature in the meteorology of the entire east coast of Australia, is the remarkable dryness of the atmosphere, and the absence of that entire class of diseases originating principally in the *malaria* generated by stagnant water—agues, intermittent fevers, yellow fever, &c., &c.—that are so prevalent and so fatal in the Southern and Western States of America. In the neighbourhood of an extensive swamp of 50,000 acres on the MacLeay River, in New South Wales, and at Eagle Farm, a low swampy tract of country towards the mouth of the Brisbane River, slight attacks of fever and ague, but in no case of a fatal character, have been experienced; but these are only remarkable exceptions, the occurrence of which rather confirms the general rule I have stated, than militates against it. If there were any doubts on the subject, however, the following letter from Dr. Ballow, the Colonial Surgeon at Brisbane, with the accompanying report of the Hospital practice in that locality, will surely be sufficient to set them at rest:—

To the Rev. Dr. LANG, M.C. Sydney.

BRISBANE, MORETON BAY, Dec. 17, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—In compliance with your request, I proceed to give you some information, touching the medical statistics of this highly-salubrious and promising portion of the colony of New South Wales.

I have sent herewith a statement showing the number of cases treated annually in Her Majesty's General Hospital at this Station, during the last seven years.

The column headed "free persons" comprises individuals paying at the rate of 3s. per diem for their treatment, as well as free persons in the service of Government.

The District of Moreton Bay is, altogether, an extremely healthy one, very few deaths occurring from disease of any kind.

Intermittent fever prevails at times in certain localities, more particularly in the neighbourhood of swampy grounds, and in situations where there is no free current of air to drive off the miasmata arising from the decaying vegetable matter.

This malady occurs at times only, chiefly after long-continued rains, and in most cases is mild in its attacks, soon yields to treatment, leaves no permanent bad effects, and has never to my knowledge been fatal.

Rheumatic affections are probably more frequent than any other form of disease; but these also, at least in my experience, soon give way under a use of remedies, and subsequent attacks may be guarded against by a moderate degree of precaution.

Diseases of the liver, and of the stomach and bowels are, I think, considering the latitude ($27^{\circ} 30'$) by no means frequent; and in those cases where the first named viscus is affected, there is generally merely functional derangement, organic disease being rarely met with.

Women generally get over their confinements easily, puerperal or childbed fever being seldom known. Indeed, I recollect but one case only, during my eight years' practice here, and in that one the woman had been ailing for some time previous to delivery.

Children thrive well, and all the ailments and diseases incident to infancy and childhood are mild in their attacks and soon got over.

Any diseases we have at all generally occur in the spring and autumn, as at these seasons the nights and mornings are cold and the middle of the days hot, the thermometer averaging about 50 in the morning and about 80 at noon.

The climate here during what is called the winter season is, perhaps, about one of the finest in the world, the middle part of the day being just pleasantly warm, and the evening cold enough to enable us to have a fire.

I think the best character I can give the District is to say of it, that it is by no means a profitable field for practitioners of medicine.

I shall now conclude by wishing you a speedy and pleasant passage to Old England, and that your arduous and highly important mission may be crowned with success; and believe me,

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours very truly,

D. KEITH BALLOW.

**Statement of Diseases treated at Her Majesty's General Hospital, Moreton Bay, from the 1st January 1839,
to the 31st December 1845 inclusive.**

Date.	Quality.	Strength.			Fevers.		Diseases of the Lungs.		Diseases of the Liver.		Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels.		Diseases of the Brain.		All other Diseases.		Total.	
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
1839	Military, .	60	11	17	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	5	..
	Prisoners, .	209	86	34	3	..	12	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	20	..	49	..
	Free People,	12	6	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1840	Military, .	24	5	11	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	5	..	9	..
	Prisoners, .	152	3	1	2	..	5	1	..	..	6	..	..	..	64	*1	77	2
	Free People,	27	16	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	..
1841	Military, .	18	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	6	..
	Prisoners, .	136	3	1	6	..	3	1	5	..	7	..	1	..	58	..	80	1
	Free People,	27	15	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..
1842†	Military, .	23	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	11	..	12	..
	Prisoners, .	130	1	1	6	..	5	..	1	..	8	1	..	..	74	..	94	1
	Free People,	28	20	37	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	..	12	1
1843	Military, .	35	3	1	2	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	24	..	34	..
	Prisoners, .	118	1	1	53	1	2	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	54	†1	115	2
	Free People,	22	16	23	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	14	..
1844	Military, .	53	7	8	4	..	2	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	22	..	32	..
	Prisoners, .	114	1	1	14	..	7	1	..	..	6	..	1	..	59	..	87	1
	Free People,	11	7	7	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	16	..
1845	Military, .	53	7	22	1	..	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	10	..	16	..
	Prisoners, .	100	1	..	5	..	1	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	47	..	58	1
	Free People,	8	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	17	..	19	..
TOTAL.		1360	198	249	114	1	45	5	9	..	67	1	3	..	502	2	830	9

* Accident.

† Free Settlement.

‡ Accident.

§ Phthisis Pulmonalis.

D. KEITH BALLOW, Col. Surgeon, in charge of H. M. General Hospital at Brisbane.

To this testimony of a witness so highly competent and so unexceptionable, in regard to the remarkable salubrity of the climate of Cooksland, I would subjoin that of another professional gentleman in that district. The following, therefore, is an extract of a letter from which I shall have occasion to quote more at large in the sequel, on the subject of the capabilities of Moreton Bay as a field for emigration, and with which I was favoured by William Dorsey, Esq., a medical practitioner at Ipswich, whose brother is well known in the literary world as the head of an Educational Establishment of high character in the city of Glasgow :—

IPSWICH, *February 26, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR,—You are pleased to ask my opinion as to the climate of this District and its fitness for European labour. No doubt it is hot ; but although the temperature is high, as indicated by the thermometer, still it has not the depressing effect of the same degree of heat in other parts of the world. The men work all day in the sun, and the average of health is the same as in other parts of the colony.

We have few diseases that are not as common at home, and we are exempt from many that are frequent there. On our first settlement, many cases of ague occurred, but none proved fatal ; and I have not seen a case for a period of nearly three years.

Women and children are subject to few diseases ; parturition is easy, and rarely requires assistance ; indeed, my practice is in most cases confined to disease brought on by intemperance or caused by accident. I do not apprehend that the duration of life will be longer here than the “ threescore years and ten ;” but, as far as climate is concerned, we have nothing to dread. In short, it is almost too healthy for the Doctors.

Knowing well the great importance that would necessarily be attached in Europe to the question of climate in reference to the capabilities for European emigration, of a country lying between the 30th parallel of South latitude and the Tropic of Capricorn, I addressed the following letter on the subject to my esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. Carl Wilhelm Schmidt, of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, who had himself had seven years’ experience of the climate, and to that letter I had the pleasure of receiving the subjoined reply :—

To the Rev. CARL WILHELM SCHMIDT, &c., &c.

SYDNEY, 29th Dec., 1845.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—As you have had seven years' experience of the climate of Moreton Bay, I should feel obliged by your giving me your opinion in writing as to the general salubrity of the District, and also as to the ability of a European constitution to stand such out-of-door labour as might be necessary in carrying on agricultural operations of any kind in that climate; the nature and peculiarities of which must, you are well aware, be quite unknown to our respective fellow-countrymen at home.

I am, REV. DEAR SIR,

Your friend and brother,

JOHN DUNMORE LANG.

To the Rev. DR. LANG, M.C.

SYDNEY, 31st Dec., 1845.

REV. AND DEAR DR.—In reply to your kind letter of the 29th instant, I beg leave to state that my residence at Moreton Bay during seven years has afforded me ample opportunity to become acquainted with the nature of the climate of that District.

Without fear of contradiction, I give you, therefore, my opinion, that there can scarcely be any other climate in the world superior to that of Moreton Bay. The summer is hot, it is true, but the heat is greatly modified by fine sea-breezes. The excellency of the climate may be shown by the very circumstance, that it is neither subject to sudden changes nor to hot winds. This steadiness of the climate enables even Europeans to be engaged in every agricultural operation, without endangering their health. I, for my own part, have been working with my own hands, both winter and summer, and generally all day long, although I was not accustomed to manual labour from my youth, and I never enjoyed better health in my life.

There is another fact which may support my opinion. Our Missionary Establishment consisted, as you are aware, of 19 individuals, of whom only one was removed to the heavenly mansions by a malignant tumour in the cheek; but not a single death has occurred as yet amongst the 25 children that were born at our station.

The winter doubtless is the finest season; it resembles more the summer of Europe. The nights are sometimes rather cold, and even ice is seen here and there, but only a few tender plants suffer from the effects of the cold. Vegetation in general is not impaired; in fact, of the seven winters during which I lived at Moreton Bay, there passed three which were so mild that even not a leaf of the tenderest plant was nipped.

In such a climate, of course, as may be expected, not only

almost every species of European vegetables is growing most luxuriantly, but also all the tropical plants.

I have the honour to be,

REV. and DEAR DR.,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

C. W. E. SCHIMDT.

In regard to the ability of Europeans generally to stand field-labour of any kind with impunity in the climate of Moreton Bay, I was enabled, from having visited the district in the months of November and December, the hottest season of the year, to form a pretty correct judgment on the subject from my own feelings and observation. At that season, therefore, I found European carpenters, bricklayers, and other handicraftsmen, whose occupations required them to be much in the sun, pursuing their accustomed labours just as they do in Sydney. On conversing with some of them who had been for years in the Southern Settlements of the Colony, they told me they knew no difference in the climate, as far as their ability to pursue their usual occupations was concerned, from that of Sydney and Hunter's River; while others admitted that they felt it rather hot at first, but they soon got used to it, and the heat did them no harm. Captain Griffin's sons were regularly at the plough, whenever the weather, which was then very much broken from the commencement of the rains, permitted them, in the middle of December, and they told me that they could work as freely, and with quite as little risk in the open air at their Station in latitude 27° , as they could in any other part of the Colony. It is customary, however, for persons labouring in the field in the heat of summer to "knock off," as it is termed, or to intermit their labour at noon, and to recommence at four, P.M. In short, there is no difficulty in the way of the introduction and employment of European free-labour in any part of the territory of Cooksland, arising from the heat of the Climate. Europeans arriving in the hot

season will, doubtless, find their system somewhat relaxed at first, and be tempted to give way to lassitude ; but the human body soon becomes accustomed to any degree of temperature that can be borne without injurious effects. At all events, there are eight months in the year delightfully cool and pleasant, and by appropriating to out-of-door-labour the early portion, and the close of the day during the four hot months, as is done universally in the South of Europe, any unpleasantness arising from the excessive heat of the climate, during the four months of a semi-tropical Australian summer, may easily be obviated.

CHAPTER VIII.

PECULIAR ADAPTATION OF THE TERRITORY OF COOKSLAND FOR IMMEDIATE AND EXTENSIVE COLONIZATION.

Totâ regione potitus . . . multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit.—*CORN. NEP. MILT. II.*

Having seized the whole of the Crimea, Governor Miltiades settled the large body of emigrants, whom he had carried out with him from Athens, on the Waste Lands.

THE title of this Chapter suggests the inference which, it appears to me, we are fully warranted to draw from the facts and statements contained in the previous Chapters of this Work. Indeed, I question whether there has ever been any portion of the vast Colonial Empire of Great Britain so admirably adapted for immediate and extensive colonization—as well from its soil and climate, and from the extent and variety of its productions, as from the facilities it affords for an extensive internal communication by means of steam-navigation—as the territory of Cooksland. With a steam-vessel plying daily, perhaps, between the future commercial capital of the Territory, and each of the navigable rivers that empty themselves along the whole line of coast, how very different would be the situation of an industrious family of free immigrants, possessed of a moderate extent of land on one of these rivers, from that of almost any settler of the same class in society and possessing the same extent of land in any

of the British Provinces of North America? Supposing, for example, that the emigrant were settled near the head of the navigation of the Clarence River, the farthest southward from the capital, the steamboat would leave his immediate vicinity for the latter early in the morning, and without employing an agent, he would embark himself with his parcel of wheat, maize, or barley; his sweet potatoes, pine apples, or bananas; his fatted pigs or poultry; his honey and bees'-wax, or his raw-silk and cotton, or perhaps with his pine or cedar boards and shingles, for the first market in the Colony. Stopping at the principal localities on the beautiful stream, to take in passengers and cargo, the steamboat would reach the mouth of the river sometime in the afternoon, and performing the ocean part of the voyage during the night, she would reach Toorbal Point early on the following morning. The settler would thus have the whole day before him to dispose of his produce in the chief town of the Territory, and to procure his supplies; and having transacted his business, he would be ready to embark again on his return, probably at six or eight in the evening, to enable the steamer to perform the ocean part of the voyage during the night, and to reach the mouth of the Clarence at break of day. The sail up the river would only occupy from five to eight hours longer, according to the number of stopping-places on the banks, and the settler would thus return to the bosom of his family in the course of the third day from his departure, with all his produce sold, and all his farm-supplies along with him, while the whole expense to and fro would be a mere trifle.

This is by no means an imaginary picture, but one that has already been realized in the Colony of New South Wales, wherever the benefits and blessings of steam-navigation are available in that colony. My brother, Mr Andrew Lang, J.P., of Dunmore, Hunter's River, is settled about forty miles from the mouth of the River Hunter, which disembogues at Newcastle, about seventy miles to the northward of Sydney; and

about fifteen or twenty years ago, when I had occasion to visit that part of the country, it took me regularly three days' hard riding over a rugged mountainous country to reach his place overland, the distance being upwards of 110 miles ; and on that journey I have repeatedly been out two nights by the way, sleeping on the grass, wrapped up in a boat-cloak, by a fire we had kindled in the open forest. And when I contrived to go by water, the weekly sailing-packet, which would frequently occupy several days on the voyage, going only to the mouth of the river, I had to be rowed up or down by two boatmen the rest of the way, bivouacking generally for a few hours on the banks during the night, till the tide turned. In either case the delay, fatigue, and annoyances of the journey were great, and the expense serious. Now, however, there are four steamboats plying regularly on this course, making two voyages each, to and fro, every week ; and as they start from Sydney at 10 P.M., when the business of the day is over, to perform the ocean part of the voyage during the night, and to ascend the river in the morning, I reach my brother's place, three miles from the head of the navigation of the river, before noon next day ; while the whole expense of the trip is a mere trifle. The only interruption to this species of navigation is during the prevalence of a strong southerly or southeasterly gale, for at such times the steamboat bound to Sydney must remain at the mouth of the Hunter till the gale abates. This interruption, however, would be less felt along the coast of Cooksland ; for in consequence of the superior mildness of the climate, the southerly gales are both less frequent and less violent there than they are to the southward.

Settlers located on any of the rivers within the Bay, —the Kumera-Kumera, the Logan, the Brisbane and its tributaries, the Pine River, and the Cabulture River, —would all be still more favourably situated for frequent and rapid intercourse with the capital than those on the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed ; as steam

communication with any of these rivers would never be interrupted by any winds that blow in the Pacific.

I have already observed that Normanby Plains—a tract of 50,000 acres of land of the first quality for cultivation—are only eighteen miles, along a level country admirably adapted for a wooden railway, from the head of the navigation of the Brisbane and the Bremer, at Ipswich; and the Darling Downs—a splendid tract of country, sufficiently extensive to receive and afford employment for the whole agricultural population of Scotland, with the land naturally clear and ready for the plough, at an elevation of two thousand feet above the level of the sea—are only forty-three miles from the same locality in the same direction; the whole ascent and descent, by that wonderful cleft or fissure in the Coast Range of Mountains, Cunningham's Gap, from the low country to the eastward to the elevated table-land to the westward of these mountains, being only five miles altogether. In short, I know of no country in the world that is better provided by nature with the means of extensive internal communication than Cooksland; and one has only to compare the circumstances of the ten thousand colonists that will ere long be located on the banks of the various navigable streams of that colony, steaming cheerily along with their produce under a cloudless sky to the capital of the territory, with those of the Canadian farmers lashing their weary bullocks over the miserable corduroy-roads of British America, up to the knees, perhaps, in mud or sleet and snow, to see how benignant nature, or rather the God of nature, has been to the one country, and how sparing, comparatively, of his benefits and blessings to the other.

Indeed, there is the utmost difference imaginable between the rigours of a Canadian winter of seven months' duration, and the paradisaical climate of Cooksland, in which the productions of both the temperate and the torrid zones grow harmoniously together, and the process of vegetation goes on uninterruptedly during

the whole year. In the single item of clothing, the settler in Cooksland, where light clothing of the cheapest fabric is worn by all classes, would be saved a comparatively large amount of expenditure to which the British North American farmer is necessarily subject.

And what are the exportable productions of Canada to be compared with those of Cooksland? Its only exports that I know of are wheat and timber; but the timber of Cooksland is of far greater variety and much more valuable for all purposes than that of Canada, while the wheat of the one country is just as good as that of the other. But where is there any article of Canadian produce to match with the fine wool of Australia,—I mean either sheep's wool or cotton wool,—or with any of the long list of other valuable productions, whether of the temperate or the tropical regions, for which the soil and climate of Cooksland are so admirably adapted?

There are two classes of persons in the mother-country for whom, it appears to me, emigration to Cooksland would be likely to prove highly eligible; the first is that of persons of moderate capital, able to purchase a sufficient extent of land for a cultivation farm, and to effect a settlement upon it—erecting a bush-house—clearing, fencing, breaking up, and cropping a moderate breadth of ground for a garden and orchard and for agriculture—purchasing a team of bullocks, a few milch cows and a riding horse—hiring one or two farm-servants, if the emigrant's own family should not afford a sufficient amount of labour for all purposes, and providing subsistence for the whole establishment for a twelvemonth. The settler of this class would purchase either 80, 160, 320, or 640 acres,—that is, either the eighth part of a section, a quarter section, half-a-section, or a whole section or square mile, of land, according to his means. This, at the present minimum price, would cost a pound an acre—a price which, I have no hesitation in stating my belief and conviction, the land is well worth to any industrious family. A large proportion of the alluvial land in the territory of

Cooksland (especially on the Richmond and Clarence Rivers, on the Logan River, at Limestone and Normanby Plains, on the Brisbane, and on the Darling Downs) is naturally clear of timber, and consequently requires no outlay whatever previous to fencing and breaking-up for cropping. But Mr. Commissary Kent informs me that even the heavily-timbered land at Moreton Bay, which is the best for wheat, is very easily cleared, as it is generally covered with the broad or silver-leaved iron-bark tree, which, if once ignited, even when in full growth, will burn out to the very extremity of the roots, although four feet in the ground. This is no doubt a very dangerous mode of clearing land, as the burning trees may fall unexpectedly and occasion fatal accidents. A remarkable case of this kind happened at Hunter's River in New South Wales about twenty years ago, where a road-party had lighted fires at the roots of a number of large trees in the line of the road they were forming, leaving them to fall when burned through. Three runaway-convicts, who had been committing depredations in the district and been apprehended, were walking along this road, all chained to each other in charge of a constable, when one of these trees happened to fall in the direction of their route. It was a forked tree, which, at some distance from the ground, formed two strong arms diverging slightly from each other. Each of these arms struck down the man to the right and left and killed him on the spot, leaving the one in the centre alive and unhurt, chained to the two dead bodies of his late accomplices in crime !

It is not advisable even for a respectable family, possessed of considerable means, to expend much money in the first instance in the erection of a house on their Australian farm. The best situation for a dwelling-house, even on a small farm, if at all wooded, is not always selected in the first instance, and the time and money requisite for the erection of a permanent residence may be much better expended otherwise. A slab-house, with or without deal-floors and glass-win-

dows, and covered with bark, costing from £10 to £50, according to its size and conveniences, will afford a sufficiently comfortable accommodation for any family for a few years in so mild a climate as that of Cooksland; and if the proprietor be a man of taste, selecting a proper site for his cottage on a gentle rising ground in full view of the river, festooning the rustic columns of his verandah with the vine, or with any of the beautiful flowering parasitical plants of the country, and disposing orange-trees, fig-trees, olives, and pomegranates, interspersed with patches of bamboos, bananas, and pine-apples, in ornamental groups in front, even Calypso and her Nymphs would not disdain to rent the cottage for summer-quarters, if they happened to land in Australia.

There are hundreds, nay thousands, of small farmers in the mother-country toiling from year to year for a bare subsistence, perhaps to make up their rack-rent for some heartless landlord, who, if they could only muster capital sufficient to purchase the smallest extent of land I have mentioned on one or other of the rivers of Cooksland, and to settle, with a team of bullocks and a twelvemonth's supplies, on that land, would infallibly find themselves, at the end of that period, on the highway to comfort and independence. Their stout sons and daughters, for whom it is so difficult to find a proper outlet, suitable to their habits and feelings, under existing circumstances in Great Britain or Ireland, would be a treasure to their parents on their arrival in Australia, and would soon be all settled as independent Colonial farmers on their own account, or the wives of such farmers, perhaps, in the same district as their parents. But if such farmers themselves should choose rather to toil on at home, than to endeavour to better their fortunes abroad, why should their sons follow their example, and thereby, in all likelihood, descend gradually into the class of mere labourers or hired-servants? Let these young men be enabled to marry, to emigrate, to purchase a small Colonial farm, and to settle on that farm in the way and with the

prospects I have detailed, and their parents will not only be consulting the best interests of their offspring at least for the present life, but conferring the greatest possible benefit upon the mother-country and the Colonies.

But it is not only the class of small farmers and their sons for whom emigration to Cooksland would be a highly prudent and proper enterprise; there are numberless respectable persons, of all classes in the mother-country, with small capitals, of from £100 to £500 each, for which they can find no profitable employment in business, without the utmost hazard of its entire loss, and with rising families of sons and daughters, for whom the prospect at home, in the present overstocked condition of every profession and branch of business, is sufficiently gloomy, who, I am confident, would find it their interest, in every sense of the word, to emigrate as small farmers to such a country as Cooksland. The instance of Captain Griffin's family will show such persons, whatever may have been their previous manner of life, that no long apprenticeship is necessary before entering upon the business of a Colonial farmer. The soil and climate do so much for those who are inclined to do any thing for themselves, that common sense and observation, combined with common industry and perseverance, will ensure success in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, whatever the Settler may have been at home; whether a professional man or a merchant—whether a shop-keeper or a mechanic—whether a weaver or a day-labourer. Nay, if a person emigrating to such a country as Cooksland, with a determination to look principally to the land for his future subsistence, have common sense and common industry, it may probably be all the better for his success that he knows comparatively little of farming at home; for in that case he will be free from the prejudices of regularly bred English farmers, and ready to adopt whatever course or expedient the peculiarities of the soil and climate of his adopted country may suggest. Besides, a reputable family of the class under

consideration, will always be able to obtain one or more regularly bred farm-labourers as hired-servants to do the rougher work on the farm, and to give lessons, perhaps, without knowing it, to their employers.

But if farming is likely to prove a profitable speculation, as I have ventured to predict it will in Cooksland, why, I shall probably be asked, did farming in New South Wales prove so disastrous a speculation a few years ago, when half that Colony became bankrupt, and many respectable young men, who went out to it with moderate capital as Colonial farmers, were utterly ruined? I reply, it was not the cultivation of land that proved a failure in New South Wales on that occasion. Those who had acquired cultivation-farms at any thing like their real value, and who confined their attention to the cultivation of these farms, were always able to make a living, and survived the wreck and ruin of that disastrous period. It was the purchase of large tracts of waste-land, chiefly for grazing purposes, at a time when the Government possessed both an unlimited supply and a monopoly of the article, and threw it into the market so very sparingly, notwithstanding the unprecedented demand for it created by a sudden and extensive immigration, that its price, at the Government sales, rose to at least four times its proper value; it was the purchase of sheep and cattle at a time when enormous speculation, induced by the fatal facility with which almost every person of any standing in society could obtain an unlimited supply of money on credit through the Colonial Banks, had raised their price in the same proportion to their intrinsic value; and it was the extensive employment of hired labour, for which this extraordinary speculation had created an unprecedented demand, at double the rate which any profit derivable from it would warrant—it was all these circumstances combined, that produced the calamitous state of things recently experienced in New South Wales, and involved in ruin many respectable families and individuals, who, if they had only emigrated to that Colony at a more

favourable period, and not been sucked into the vortex of enormous speculation, as they unfortunately were, would in all likelihood have done well both for themselves and for the Colony.

I happened to meet at Ipswich, in Moreton Bay, a gentleman, now a squatter on the Darling Downs, who had arrived in the colony from the West of Scotland in the year 1838 or 1839, with a small amount of capital, which he invested in the purchase of sheep at the enormous price they were then selling at in the colonial market. The year 1839 was a year of drought, and as cultivation had not been attended to in the rage for making fortunes all at once by sheep and cattle, the necessary supplies for a sheep or cattle station became exorbitantly high, while the wages of labour were out of all proportion to the real ability of the employer. In such circumstances a reaction very soon took place; the price of stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and speedily reached a point of depression unprecedented in the history of the colony. The consequence was that my informant, and hundreds of other young men like him were completely ruined—the whole of their stock, after years of labour, being barely sufficient in some instances, and insufficient in many others, to pay the expense of the owner's passage home, after clearing off his liabilities. Many of these young hopefuls accordingly returned to their friends at home with a doleful account of the colony, and with bitter imprecations upon the heads of all who had been instrumental in any way in leading them to its shores. "But I was determined," observed my informant, "never to return to Scotland with less money than I had brought out, and I resolved accordingly to undergo any hardships and privations rather than go home. I did undergo such hardships and privations in real earnest, but it was not in vain: my stock continued to increase; I added to it, on very easy terms, during the period of general depression, from time to time, and my clip of wool this year (it was in December 1845) is 150 bales." A hundred and fifty bales of wool, averaging probably

300 lbs. each, at 1s. 6d. per lb., gives, as the *gross* income of this Colonial Squatter, £3375 ; which, making any reasonable allowance for the cost of production and the expense of management, will leave a very handsome *nett* income.

My informant added, that the failure of so many who had come out to the colony about the same time with himself was not to be ascribed exclusively to the circumstances of the colony at that period. Many of these adventurers were young men, not above twenty years of age, without experience of any kind, and without application ; and their speedy ruin was attributable in many instances to their own indolence and extravagance, their thoughtless mismanagement and reckless dissipation.

I have hitherto confined my observations, in reference to the prospects for emigrants of small capital, to farming properly so called, or the cultivation of the land. But any respectable person emigrating to Cooksland with the intention of purchasing a moderate extent of land, and settling with his family on one or other of the rivers I have enumerated, and having additional capital to spare, could purchase sheep and cattle besides, and form a Squatting Station at a greater or lesser distance from his farm, according as he could find an eligible and unoccupied *run*. But it is not desirable to divide the energies of an emigrant family in this way, unless, perhaps, where there are several grown-up sons, one or two of whom could be sent off in charge of the flocks and herds to the Squatting Station ; for which the sum of £10 a-year is payable to the Government for a license, as it is called. Besides, it is the principal object of this work to point out the eligibility of Cooksland as a field for the emigration of persons who would devote their energies exclusively to the cultivation of the soil, and who do not possess the amount of capital requisite to engage in sheep and cattle grazing in Australia with a reasonable prospect of success. For this purpose a capital of £2000 would be requisite, or a partnership of two young men form-

ing a joint-stock concern with a capital of £1000 each, as the expenses of a smaller establishment than this amount of capital would imply are equally great, and consequently absorb the whole profits. Generally speaking, however, it would be absurd for persons engaged in grazing pursuits to have anything to do with a cultivation-farm, or to grow more grain at their Squatting Stations than is necessary for the consumption of their own establishments.

The other class of persons for whom Cooksland would prove a highly eligible field for emigration, is that of mere labourers, whether agricultural labourers or shepherds. There is a very considerable and yearly increasing demand for both of these classes of labourers already; but in the event of a large emigration of small capitalists, to embark in Australian farming, the demand for agricultural labourers in particular would be increased perhaps a hundred-fold, while a wide and promising field for all other departments of industry would be created simultaneously. Nor is it at all necessary that those who should emigrate to this territory, to depend entirely on the labour of their hands, should either have been farm-labourers or shepherds at home; a common weaver can be transformed with the utmost facility into an Australian shepherd, and any person of industrious habits will very soon acquire all the knowledge and experience that are requisite for a farm-labourer. I should be sorry, however, to recommend any persons of this class of society to emigrate to Australia under the idea of their remaining permanently, or indeed for any considerable time, in the class of mere servants or labourers. The peculiar recommendation of emigration to this description of persons is the facility with which the mere servant or labourer, if at all industrious and frugal, can be transformed into a proprietor of land and stock and an employer of labour. A Scotch carpenter who had emigrated with ———— Leslie, Esq., an extensive stock-holder in the district of Moreton Bay, originally from Aberdeenshire in Scotland, about ten years ago, was mentioned to me

as an instance of what persons of this class might easily achieve for themselves by industry and perseverance. His wages as a mechanic, including certain perquisites, amounted to £80 or £90 a-year, and he had regularly expended his surplus earnings in the purchase of stock,—sheep, cattle and horses,—which, at the period of my visit, yielded him a yearly income of £200. He still retained his original situation, however; but as he had just purchased some person's Squatting Station, he would probably establish himself upon his own account very shortly, and eventually realize a handsome independence.

A large proportion, however, of the actual labourers and shepherds at Moreton Bay—being chiefly *old hands* or emancipated convicts—are altogether destitute of these money-making, or rather money-saving habits, and regularly spend their earnings in riotous dissipation, as soon as they receive their wages. Mr. Colin Campbell, a Squatter on the Downs, told me he had two shepherds, excellent servants of this description, who had been with him two years, and who, at the close of that period, having each £40 of wages, over and above what they had spent beforehand, to receive, refused to hire again, being determined to go down to Brisbane, or as the “old hands” uniformly call it, the *Settlement*. Mr. C. accordingly paid them the amount due them, and about ten days thereafter he left his Station and came down to Brisbane himself, hoping to be able to hire other two in their place. To his *agreeable* surprise, however, he found them both at an Inn on the Coast Range, (very conveniently placed to intercept all such travellers,) where, it seems, they had halted on their way, and where, it also appeared, they had remained drinking, and treating every person that passed, till the whole of their £80 was spent. They informed Mr. Campbell, in one of their slang phrases, that they were regularly “cleaned out,” and at once accepted his offer to hire them again on the same terms as before, and went back contentedly to their former occupation. It is peculiarly unfortunate for the moral welfare and

advancement of the district, and indeed of the whole colony of New South Wales, from Moreton Bay to Port Phillip, that instead of discountenancing this enormous dissipation, it is actually the interest of the Squatters, generally, to encourage and promote it. "If these men," I have heard them say, again and again, "were to save their earnings, and invest them in land and stock, as very many of them might do with perfect facility, where would we be for people to tend our flocks and herds?" A state of things so absolutely monstrous can only be remedied by the influx of a numerous population of the industrious classes from the mother-country.

In further illustration of the prospects of persons of this class, I may add, that female servants were receiving from £20 to £25 a-year at the period of my visit to Moreton Bay, and were not to be had even on these terms. Dr. Dorsey's family, at Ipswich, had had one for three years previous, a respectable young woman from the north of Ireland, at £18 a-year. She had drawn £11 during her engagement, for wearing apparel, &c., and had £43 to receive when she returned to Sydney, at the desire of her relatives, who were residing there.

To develop the vast resources of Cooksland, and to promote the settlement of a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population in its ample territory, it appears to me that the most effectual means that could possibly be devised, would be the formation of a Company in the mother-country to purchase a large extent of land, on the banks of the principal navigable streams I have enumerated, at the present minimum price of one pound per acre; provided the Government would allow one half of that amount to be expended in promoting emigration to the country, and the other in such local improvements—roads and bridges, &c.—as would render it immediately and extensively available for the settlement of a free immigrant population. This arrangement would be in perfect accordance with the Act of Parliament of 1842, regulating the disposal of Waste Land in the Australian Colonies; which appro-

priates the one half of the whole proceeds of such sales towards the promotion of emigration, thereby admitting the principle that the other half may be expended in local improvements. A Company formed on these terms, and occupying this position—purchasing a large extent of land in the localities already enumerated, constructing such works as might be necessary for the formation of a harbour and capital at one or other of the points indicated, placing steamboats on the Clarence, the Richmond, the Logan, and the Brisbane River stations, to ply regularly to and from the capital, according as agricultural settlements might be formed successively on these rivers, and perhaps constructing a wooden railway from the head of the navigation of the Bremer to Cunningham's Gap, across Normanby Plains—such a Company would render the extensive and immediate settlement of a large portion of the available land of the future colony of Cooksland a matter of perfect facility, and would remove every difficulty of any magnitude out of the way of the intending emigrant. To protect the Company from eventual loss, and to guarantee to the shareholders a reasonable profit on the capital invested, I would propose that the Company's land should be sold in portions of 80, 160, or 320 acres, at twenty-five shillings per acre,—a price which alluvial land in any of the localities enumerated, and possessing the facilities for steam-communication with the chief town and shipping port of the colony above described, would be well worth; but to encourage emigration, and to give the emigrant, who would be the principal party concerned, a direct interest in the enterprise, I would allow every purchaser of 80 acres a free passage for himself and wife, and one or two children, in the steerage of an emigrant ship; the purchaser of 160 acres a free passage for a family of the same extent, with liberty to select for the same indulgence two married couples as servants; and the purchaser of 320 acres a certain definite proportion of the whole amount he should have to pay for his land, towards providing himself and family with a cabin pas-

sage out, provided the Government could be induced to sanction the arrangement, with liberty to select three or four married couples for a free steerage-passage as farm-servants. The agricultural labourer or farm-servant would thus have a free passage out, with all the prospective advantages which the colony holds out to persons of his class, while the purchaser of either a half or a quarter section of the Company's land, would in reality be paying for the exportation of that labour, as well as for his own passage, and for the inestimable benefit of a regular, rapid, and cheap communication with the colonial capital.

Supposing, then, that a practical farmer, able to purchase a quarter-section, or 160 acres of land, which would cost him £200, and obtaining, in consideration of this payment, a free passage out for himself, his wife and two children, with a man and his wife as farm-servants, were to be landed on his location, either on the Clarence, the Richmond, the Logan, or the Brisbane River, the first matter for consideration would be the cost of supplies for his establishment for twelve to eighteen months from the period of his arrival; for although certain articles, which would greatly lessen the entire expenditure, might be raised from the land within a much shorter period than either of these terms, it would be prudent to calculate for the period I have stated. The principal articles of consumption, therefore, in the colony are flour, beef, sugar, and tea; and the weekly ration of these articles usually supplied to every hired servant is 10 pounds of beef and 10 pounds of flour, a pound of sugar, and a quarter of a pound of tea; the half of this ration being allotted to a female. A small quantity of tobacco is generally added, but not always, with a small allowance of salt and soap. The four articles first mentioned, however, are the only ones of which it is necessary to estimate the probable cost; and, fortunately for the intending emigrant, they are all very low-priced in New South Wales. Flour was selling at 11s. per cwt. in Sydney, in the month of January, 1847. Beef had been supplied for some time

previous by the Squatters on the Clarence and Logan Rivers at a penny a pound, by the carcase. Sugar (from the Isle of France or Manilla) generally costs from two to threepence per pound, by the bag of about 120 pounds; and tea, such as is generally used in the colony, costs about two shillings by the half or quarter chest. In short, the entire cost of the necessary supplies for a small farming-establishment, for twelve or eighteen months, without taking into consideration anything that might in the meantime be grown upon the land, would be comparatively of very small amount.

The establishment of a company for the colonization of the territory of Cooksland, with a view to the cultivation of cotton and other tropical produce by means of European free labour, would, I am confident, open up one of the finest fields for private enterprise which the British Colonies have ever furnished. It would doubtless be alike inexpedient and unnecessary for such a company to undertake the cultivation of such produce on its own account; it would be sufficient to demonstrate its practicability in the first instance, by a series of judicious and inexpensive experiments, and to leave the following-up of these experiments to private enterprise. And that such enterprise would be attracted to so promising a field there can be no doubt. Indeed, I know of no other scheme of colonization that has so much to recommend it in the light of a mere mercantile adventure, to a man of intelligence and energy, as the colonization of this highly-favoured region, independently altogether of the splendid results which it promises for the manufacturing industry of Britain, and for the cause of humanity. Supposing, for example, that a respectable family possessed of a small capital, were purchasing either half a section, (320 acres,) or a square mile (640 acres) of land on the banks of any one of the navigable rivers of this territory, all the household servants, artizans and farm-labourers they would require for the cultivation of their land, and for other kindred purposes in the Colony, could be selected at home, and

carried out with them free of cost. The cost of maintaining these servants and labourers for any given time, even allowing them rations such as no labouring men in England receive, can be easily estimated from the data I have given above, and will be found exceedingly moderate, when compared with English prices. And why should not the labour of such persons in such circumstances be productive to their employer? Why should it fail to remunerate him for the capital he has invested in his speculation? Even supposing that he confines himself, in addition to the raising of European grain, roots and vegetables, to the less complicated cultivation of cotton, without attempting that of the sugarcane, why should he not succeed even to his highest expectations in that particular department of agricultural industry? For if the casually grown cotton-plants in a Squatter's neglected garden in Cooksland, are found to produce cotton equal in quality to that of the best specimens of American produce, what may not be expected from the careful and scientific cultivation of the plant? In short, if Divine Providence should only spare my life so long, I expect to see homeward bound ships laden with cotton from Moreton Bay, in a few years hence, of as fine a quality as any that has ever been shipped from the United States. The Messrs. Wright, of Glasgow, observe in their certificate, as to the quality and value of the specimen of Australian cotton from Moreton Bay, that it is rather weak in the staple, a defect which, they conceive, would be lessened by careful cultivation. The suggestion is exceedingly judicious, and the idea on which it is based is well founded; for although I did not see the cotton from Mount Flinders when actually growing, the plants I saw elsewhere in the district had been absolutely choked and smothered with couch-grass, and I had no reason to believe that those of Mount Flinders had been more fortunate.

Desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of a few persons of experience and observation, in regard to the eligibility of the Northern District generally as a field

for agricultural emigrants, I addressed a few queries before leaving the Colony, in reference to some of the points discussed in this volume, to several gentlemen of long standing at Moreton Bay; and I shall take the liberty to subjoin the answers I received, as well for the satisfaction of the reader, as for the confirmation of my own views and opinions. The gentleman to whom I addressed myself in the first instance, was John Kent, Esq., Deputy Assistant Commissary General and Superintendent of the Government Stock Establishments at Moreton Bay. Mr. Kent was peculiarly well qualified to offer an opinion on the points referred to him, not only from his official situation, and his great experience in the district, but also from his having visited all the other Australian Colonies. The following is his letter in answer to my communication:—

To the Rev. DR. LANG, M.C.

DEAR SIR,—I return the queries and my replies, which I hope may be of use in your very praiseworthy plan of emigration.

Should any further points suggest themselves, I shall be happy to resolve them if it be in my power.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN KENT.

Dec. 18, 1845.

QUERIES.

1. What is your opinion of the capabilities of the Moreton Bay District, supposing it to extend from the Clarence to the Wide Bay River inclusive, for the Settlement of an Agricultural Population, to derive their subsistence chiefly from the cultivation of Land?

I consider the District to be well adapted for such a purpose, for the following reasons:—

1st, There is a large quantity of Land naturally clear, or but lightly timbered, within a short distance of water-carriage, admirably adapted for the growth of wheat or maize.

2d, That the climate of this District is not liable to the long periods of drought experienced in other parts of the Colony; the maize-crop never being known to fail.

3d, That it is well watered.

4th, That abundant supplies of animal food, with cattle for draught or dairy purposes, can be procured from the Squatters in the neighbourhood.

5th, That there are great facilities for water-communication.

6th, That it possesses plenty of coal, and a great variety of useful timber.

2. What do you think may be the extent of land available for such a purpose on the Brisbane and Logan Rivers with their tributaries ; and what are the principal localities in which such land is situated, and the extent in each locality ?

The principal localities are

Logan River, . . .	20,000 acres.
Normanby Plains, . .	50,000 do.
Dunlop Plains, . . .	10,000 do.
Lockyer's Creek, . .	15,000 do.
Upper Brisbane, . .	10,000 do.

3. What do you consider would be a sufficient extent of such land, to form an agricultural farm for an industrious family, supposing each family to be able either to purchase such land at the present minimum price, or to hold it on lease, with liberty to purchase at that price within five years, and to maintain themselves on their own resources for six or twelve months after their arrival ?

Eighty acres.

4. What are the productions peculiarly suited to the soil and climate of the district, and the rate of produce that may be expected in ordinary seasons ?

Maize,—50 to 60 bushels per acre.

Wheat,—20 to 30 do.

Sweet Potatoes,—30 tons per acre.

Cotton, has been tested on a small scale only, grows well, and of superior quality.

Tobacco,—15 cwt. per acre.

Sugar Cane,—Grows luxuriantly.

Grapes,—Grow well, but it is probable the summer rains would be unfavourable to wine or raisin-making.

Salt Beef, } Those articles which have been produced
Salt Pork, } here are of the finest quality.

Cheese,—Very good.

Butter,—

5. What period might be supposed to elapse before an industrious family, settling in this district, under such circumstances, could maintain themselves from the produce of their labour ?

Much would depend on the season of the year when the Emigrants may arrive, but not less than 18 months.

6. In the localities in which land fitted for the settlement of agricultural families is situated, would it be practicable for such families to have grazing in common for a few head of cattle on the adjoining Waste Land which would not be purchased under any circumstances at the present minimum price ?

I am of opinion that large reserves of the back runs for this purpose are essentially necessary to the success of any plan of the kind, and I know of no locality where they may not be made with advantage. Such reserves to be for a term of years, until the first settlers have rendered themselves independent of the natural pastures for the supply of their stock, and to be enjoyed in common by all grantees or proprietors in the district or township. In this manner land, which at first would be dear at 5s. per acre, would gradually acquire a value equal, in all probability, to double the price of the more valuable portions first selected ; and, after contributing towards the wealth and convenience of the neighbouring proprietors, would be purchased at a high rate by a portion of the profits it assisted to produce.

7. Do you think that land fitted for agricultural purposes and settled in the way proposed by small farmers cultivating the ground by the labour of their own families, would be too high priced at 20s. per acre ; or would it afford a fair return for the capital and labour invested in its purchase and improvement, supposing such families, whether proprietors or tenants, should have a free passage out from England, and supposing one-half of the purchase-money of the land to be expended in conveying them out to the colony, and the other in forming roads and bridges to open up the lands so purchased and settled ?

As a general rule, 20s. per acre is too high, and only one-fourth of the land in the average of the quantity so proposed to be purchased would, in the first instance, be worth that amount, even supposing that the remaining three-fourths be reserved for back runs ; but by partial occupancy at first of the less favourably situated lands, as pointed out in my reply to Query 6th, I am of opinion that a fair return for the capital and labour expended would result.

However desirable it may be to form the emigrants into small communities at once, care should be taken to prevent these communities approximating too closely during the first period of their existence ; for if they do so while they are dependent upon the natural pastures for the support of their stock, they will most assuredly starve each other.

JOHN KENT.

MORETON BAY, 16th Dec., 1845.

Like the Australian Squatters generally, who depend almost exclusively on the produce of their flocks and herds, Mr. Kent finds it difficult to conceive of the case of persons settling in Australia deriving their entire subsistence from the cultivation of the soil. It would be equally difficult, however, for any person who had been long resident either in the West Indies or in

British America to conceive of a settler in either of these countries deriving his subsistence from any other source.

The following is the answer to a note of inquiry I addressed to Henry Wade, Esq., one of the Government Surveyors of Moreton Bay :—

To the REV. DR. LANG, &c., &c.

MORETON BAY, 25th February 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—With pleasure I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note, . . . &c.

With reference to your first query, "What may be the extent of land available for cultivation on the banks of the Brisbane?" I may safely answer, it is available on both sides of the river up to its junction with the Bremer—a distance of about 40 miles—~~being~~ all brush land; with the exception of a few spots of good open forest land intervening along its banks. The soil of this brush land is of the richest description, and similar to that where we lunched on snake and wallabi. It can be easily cleared, although apparently impenetrable, but it is not of great extent, back from the river. From the junction of the Bremer with the Brisbane up to Ipswich, the head of the navigation—a distance of 12 miles—the land along its banks is fine open forest, and available for cultivation for a considerable distance back from the Bremer, and abundantly supplied with water even in the driest seasons; indeed, the Bremer has been known to be perfectly fresh for as long as nine months in the year. From Brisbane, the southern bank of the Brisbane River downwards has a considerable quantity of good brush land equal to that already described; but along the banks of its tributary streams thousands of acres are well adapted for small farms, and from their vicinity to Brisbane, and likewise to that part of the Bay (Cleveland Point) which is the most eligible site for a seaport town, would enable small settlers with ease to dispose of the produce of their farms with considerable advantage. It is really a great pity to see so fine a district as this, possessing such capabilities of supporting thousands of our fellow-creatures, lying perfectly idle.

Having made sundry inquiries as to the ability of a European constitution to stand such out-door labour as is necessary for agricultural operations, it, fortunately for such inquiries, so happened that this has been the hottest and driest season experienced here for some years. But still I find those who have been in the colony but a short period work the entire day, with the exception of from 1 to 2 (dinner-hour), and still in the enjoyment of perfect health and spirits. But those emigrants, on their first arrival here, are, generally speaking, unable to perform an ordinary day's work for more than from eight to nine months in the

year for at least the first two years, after which period they become inured to the climate, and can work the same number of hours per diem throughout the year as those in the southern parts of the colony.

I speak much from experience, having resided here about four years. On my arrival I found it most oppressive, and at the time supposed I should never be able to carry on my field operations with credit to myself and satisfaction to the Government ; but, from being now accustomed to the climate, I could perform out-door work with as little fatigue as those, perhaps, in any other part of the colony. The mornings and evenings are most delightful, and I should certainly recommend newly-arrived emigrants, who are agriculturists, to carry on their field-labours at such times for at least two years. An industrious person would perform an ordinary day's labour even then, and during the heat of the day be profitably employed in arranging his domestic comforts, &c.

Your friend Toomborrowa, one of the blacks who accompanied us up the river, often asks me "where *big commandant* is who yacca paper belonging to black-fellow when *taltoo* (eat) snake and wallabi, and what for he yacca paper."

Believe me, my DEAR SIR,

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY WADE.

I have already inserted an extract of a letter from Dr. Dorsey, of Ipswich, in regard to the salubrity of the climate of Moreton Bay. The following is the remainder of that letter, on the General Capabilities of the District as a Field for Emigration :—

I am glad to learn that there is no longer a doubt of your going home, and I sincerely hope that your exertions in the cause of emigration may be attended with success, and that you may be able to send out a number of respectable emigrants—they are much wanted here. Men-servants are scarce ; wages high, from £25 to £30 a-year. Female-servants are not to be had ; I have lately sent to Sydney for one, but there is no such thing as keeping them, they so soon get married. A gentleman in this District lately paid off a family of a man, wife, and two boys, and they had saved in his service £120, in three years and six months, besides paying £16 for a mare. Other instances are plentiful where those who are steady acquire large sums ; but most of what are called "old hands," spend their money in the grog-shop, and some of the emigrants are too prone to follow their bad example. If labour is capital any where, it is in New South Wales ; the want of it is a bar to all improvement, and where

we shall be next year with the increase of stock it is hard to say, as Brother Jonathan has it, "in a fix," I suppose. Last year the Roman Catholic paper in Sydney was in a great alarm about the number of emigrants who were unemployed. Where are they now? No doubt the conductors of the Chronicle wished to keep up the wages by keeping out labour, so that the poor Priests should be better paid—a great proportion of the present emigrants being Roman Catholics. I agree as to the kind we now want. Mrs. Chisholm is about to open the campaign to send out a supply. I am sure there are many people in the West of Scotland who would emigrate, were they aware of the benefits attending it. In New York and New Brunswick, I have seen hundreds starving, or glad to get work for their food; and when I was last in America, many who could return did so. Now, out here, all would find employment at remunerative wages.

This District holds forth great advantages to the small farmer; one who has a family of half-grown sons and daughters would soon be affluent, if such people could land with, say £300 in cash. One hundred might be spent in the purchase of a small farm, and in building and fencing, having two to purchase stock and supplies. If a few hundred ewes were bought, the young folks could act as shepherds, and the land to feed them on could be rented from Government at £5 per section; any child above fifteen would be worth £35 or £40 yearly. No outlay would attend the increase of the stock, and the larger the family the better. Great injury was done to this Colony by the New Zealand mania, but when the tide of emigration again begins to flow, I trust it may be directed here. Many who went out to New Zealand and spent their all and their time fruitlessly, would have done well here. Much has been said in praise of that part of the world by those interested; and although a country without an export, save flax and timber, it has been lauded to the skies by the paid Editors of hireling papers, while this Colony, with exports only limited by the extent of soil and labour, has been cried down to suit the purpose of a party.

Cotton has grown well here, but it will not pay without Indian labour; they also are better fitted to attend to it.

I would direct attention to the way land is sold here. We are obliged to take that which is surveyed; we have no choice—that is fettered by the lines of the surveyor. Why is the land not all surveyed, at least that which is available put up to auction, and then allowed to be purchased at the upset price? I have asked for twenty acres for twelve months, and I have not yet been able to get it. Where would emigrants be under these circumstances? The present system is most absurd, and while our Legislative Assembly may be disputing abstract questions, those practical points which have such an influence on the settlement of the country are neglected. I would respectfully direct your attention to this before going home.

Dr. Dorsey was one of those unfortunates who had been induced to purchase land in New Zealand, and to emigrate with their families to that Colony, but who, after losing every thing, were glad to make the best of their way to New South Wales. The land they had purchased was not surveyed, and could not be found, and the Company's title, under which the emigrants held their purchases, was disputed by the fierce natives, who were in actual possession. Even when the land was allotted off at last, it was probably up some steep mountain scarcely accessible, or covered so densely with lofty timber, that it would have cost nine or ten pounds an acre to clear it. Besides, nothing had been done in the way of preparation for the reception of the emigrants—they were landed on the beach amid torrents of rain, and left to find a lodging for themselves as they best could in the woods. And then butcher-meat was so scarce, that it was only obtainable when a number of persons formed themselves into a sort of Joint Stock Company for the purchase of the whole carcase of a sheep, at 1s. 6d. per lb. In such circumstances, hundreds of hopeful emigrants were irretrievably ruined, having spent in the listless inaction, uncertainty and suspense of that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick," the time and the capital that might otherwise have enabled them to effect a comfortable settlement in their adopted country. A Company established for the promotion of Emigration and Colonization may, doubtless, if formed on right principles, and with a thorough knowledge of the country to be colonized, and the modes of operation and procedure which its physical character and circumstances suggest, as proper for the emigrant, prove of incalculable benefit to all concerned, by effecting for the whole emigrant community, what no individual of that community, or rather what not even the whole community combined could accomplish for themselves. But for people who know absolutely nothing either of Colonies in general, or of any one Colony in particular, to assume the serious responsibility of getting up a

Colonizing Company, merely as a Joint Stock speculation in London, and through their own sheer ignorance of every thing that is either requisite or proper for such an undertaking, if not from a more exceptionable motive, to entrap unsuspecting and confiding people into an enterprise which absorbs all their means, and perhaps blasts all their hopes, and involves them in ruin—this, I conceive, is so serious an offence, and does such an infinity of harm to the cause of Emigration and Colonization generally, that I almost think it ought to be taken cognizance of by the Legislature, and severely punished.

The case adduced by Dr. Dorsey, I mean the difficulty of obtaining a comparatively small portion of land from the Local Government, even for money, and at the price fixed by Act of Parliament, is precisely a case for the interposition of a Company between the Government and the people. It is a singular instance of the aristocratic character of our National Legislation, and of the cold step-mother breath which it breathes upon the humbler classes of society, that whereas, if the Duke of Newcastle were inclined to purchase, for instance, a snug little Colonial estate of 20,000 acres of land in the Australian Colonies, for any political purpose whatsoever, or even if the Earl of Shrewsbury were disposed to make a similar purchase for the avowed purpose of founding a college of *Estaticos* and *Estaticas* in Australia, Her Majesty's Government, in accordance with the Act of Parliament for such cases made and provided, would allow either his Grace or his Lordship to select the land wherever he pleased at the minimum price, without let or hindrance of any kind; but if Mr. Campbell's two shepherds, instead of spending their earnings, had been inclined to club them, and to purchase eighty acres, or; ne eighth part of a section or square mile of land, to settle down with their families as small farmers on their own account, not only would they not be allowed to purchase the land at the minimum price, but the probability is, they would not be allowed to purchase it at all! One or

other of the endless regulations of a Military Governor—a class of functionaries, who, to judge from recent examples, seem to have none of the common sympathies of human nature, and to belong to a different race of mankind altogether—would, in all likelihood, intervene, and the men would be driven to the public-house from the mere impracticability of finding that species of investment for their money, which is perhaps the most agreeable to the feelings of men generally, and the likeliest to exert a salutary influence on the character of men in the humbler walks of life. Now such a Company as I have suggested would avail itself, on the one hand, of the aristocratic privilege of the Duke or the Earl, by purchasing blocks of 20,000 acres of land, wherever it could be done with safety from the quality and the situation of the land, while it would do, on the other, what a paternal Government would have done all along, but what no Government we have ever had in New South Wales has even attempted to do, by enabling the comparatively humble individual to purchase his eighty-acre farm at once, and by giving him a free-passage out to the Colony, by allowing him to select and settle on his land immediately on his arrival, and by constructing roads and bridges, or establishing such other means of communication in his vicinity as would tend materially to lessen the difficulties, and to multiply and increase the comforts and advantages of his new course of life.

Dr. Dorsey is in error, however, in supposing that the Legislative Council of New South Wales has it in its power to apply any remedy to any of the various abuses in the system of disposing of the waste land of the colony; for, incredible as it may appear to people at home, the entire administration of these lands is claimed and exercised by the Representative of her Majesty, the Local Governor, as a prerogative of the Crown with the exercise of which the Representatives of the people have nothing to do! Agreeably to this theory of Government—the simplicity of which is as remarkable as that of the people who suppose that British subjects

at the extremity of the globe, especially with the example of America before their eyes, will continue to submit either tamely or long to so monstrous an injustice—the great Robinson Crusoe of Downing Street is “monarch of all he surveys” in the vast Colonial Empire of Britain, and “his man Friday,” the Local Governor, is merely his subordinate agent, a sort of Irish middle-man between the Lord-paramount and the colonial serfs!

I also addressed the following queries to Robert Dixon, Esq., the author of the map appended to this volume, who had been for upwards of two years the resident Government Surveyor in the Moreton Bay district, and on whose opinion and judgment, in reference to the qualities of the soil in New South Wales, from his long residence and great experience in the colony, the greatest reliance can be placed. I append Mr. Dixon’s answers in their order.

1. What is your opinion of the suitableness of the Moreton Bay district, (supposing it to extend so far south as the Solitary Isles, or 30° S.,) for the settlement of an agricultural population from the mother-country, to derive their subsistence chiefly from the cultivation of the soil?

That Moreton Bay (or the northern district from Clarence River, or the parallel of latitude 30° south, to the parallel of 27°) is capable of maintaining an immense population of agricultural immigrants from the mother-country. This portion of the colony is particularly adapted for settlers of this description; land to any extent could be selected on the navigable rivers, and of the richest description.

2. Do you think the constitution of British practical farmers, or farm-labourers, could stand the out-of-door labour that would be required for carrying on agricultural operations of any kind in the climate of Moreton Bay?

3. Are you aware that field-labour has been carried on in that district for many years past without prejudice to the health of the Europeans, chiefly convicts, engaged in it?

During upwards of two years’ residence at Moreton Bay, I am convinced the climate is such as is quite suitable to the constitution of British labourers. I carried on my field-surveying operations the same as in other parts of the colony, without the least injury to the men’s health. The convicts employed there in field labour had two hours at dinner-time in midsummer, and one in win-

ter, and were all strong and healthy ; and the twenty-one men attached to the Survey department, who had just arrived from England, and landed from a convict-ship, all kept in good health.

4. What are the principal localities with which you are acquainted in the district, which it would be advisable for a company formed in England for the settlement of small farmers, on farms of eighty acres, or thereby, at Moreton Bay, to purchase for the purpose, and what may be the probable extent of available land in each locality ?

The principal localities which I am acquainted with are in the Moreton Bay district, and a company could purchase land in different locations to any extent—on the rivers Brisbane and Bremer, and their tributaries, the Logan, Albert, Cabulture, and Pine Rivers, all navigable for boats ; on the banks of which are extensive tracts of rich alluvial land, with timber fit for all purposes, and coal and iron abounding, with limestone at Ipswich.

5. As the Act of Parliament allows blocks of 20,000 acres of land to be purchased in any locality without subjecting the land to competition by public auction, are there any tracts of really superior land for agriculture, of that extent, which a company would be safe to purchase in this way, with a view to its being re-sold, at a small advance on the cost price to *bona-fide* emigrant farmers in farms of eighty acres each ?

Blocks of 20,000 acres of land could be selected at various places, where the principal portion would be of the richest description of alluvial soil, which no doubt could be sold to *bona-fide* emigrant farmers at a considerable advance upon the purchase-money, according to the richness of the soil, and whether clear or covered with heavy brush timber, and the advantages of water carriage.

6. In other localities, where the good land is only found in smaller patches, as on the banks of rivers and creeks, and where it would therefore have to be put up to auction, agreeably to the Act of Parliament, what extent of land might be put up, to be bought at the minimum price, by such a company—I mean what extent of really good land for such a purpose is there, on the principal rivers and creeks of the district with which you are acquainted ?

Really good land, on the rivers and creeks, could be selected to a large extent ; but without a considerable time spent in calculation, I could not name any specific quantity on each. If put up by auction, where it could be bought in sections along the banks of the navigable rivers, I am certain a very large portion could be purchased of really rich alluvial land.

7. Do you think that industrious small farmers from the mother-country, purchasing eighty acres of land each from such a

company, on the banks of the Brisbane or Logan Rivers, or on any of their tributaries, or in the adjacent alluvial plains, and getting a free passage to the colony, with the prospect of having half the purchase-money of the land expended in local improvements, such as roads and bridges,—do you think that small farmers in such circumstances would not have a fair prospect of realizing a handsome return from their capital and labour, as well as of speedily establishing themselves in comfort and comparative independence ?

It is my opinion that industrious small farmers, purchasing eighty or a hundred acres of land, and getting a free passage to the colony, with half the purchase-money of the land expended in making roads and bridges, would have an excellent chance of speedily establishing themselves in comfort and comparative independence.

8. Supposing the alluvial lands along the principal rivers and creeks of the district to be settled by small farmers in the manner proposed, would it be practicable for them, generally speaking, to obtain grazing, if they required it, for a few head of cattle, on the inferior waste land adjoining, which nobody would be likely to purchase at the present minimum price for a long time to come ?

Supposing the alluvial land along the principal rivers and creeks to be settled, it is quite practicable for every one of such settlers to have access to the vacant forest land in the rear, where they could feed their working oxen, a few cows, sheep, or horses, free of expense.

Two portions of the northern district I am not personally acquainted with, viz. the Clarence and Richmond Rivers ; but a large proportion of the land in these districts is of the finest alluvial soil, and particularly adapted for agricultural purposes. No land on these rivers having yet been sold, leaves a fine field for a company to purchase on a large scale.

I am happy to be able to add to these favourable testimonies in regard to the capabilities of the district of Moreton Bay, as a field for the emigration of persons of the agricultural and labouring classes, the following additional *notanda*, drawn up, at my particular request, by my worthy friend Dr. Leichhardt, the distinguished Australian traveller. I deem it unnecessary to translate into idiomatic English the few expressions in these notanda, that have rather a foreign aspect, as they will all be sufficiently intelligible to the English reader, and as the paper will doubtless be more interesting in its original form.

There are perhaps few spots of the Colony better adapted for agricultural purposes, than those rich flats which accompany the upper part of the Brisbane, the Durrundur, Stanley's Creek, and their numerous tributaries. The soil is the detritus of basaltic rock, of Sienite and Diorite, or of sandstone and pudding or conglomerate. The basaltic soil is black, principally clay, with a good share of vegetable matter, and concretions of limestone or marl, the sienitic is generally a stiff clay, mixed more or less with sand: the same mixture exists in the soil of the sandstone and conglomerate country, which are nothing else but a regenerate rock formed by the detritus of primitive rocks. Instances of basaltic soil are considerable stretches at Mr. Bigge's, at Limestone, at Normanby Plains. At Archer's, Mackenzie's, Bigge's, Macconnel's Station, alluvial flats of a more clayey nature with a share of sand are found, and along the sea coast between the settlement and the Glass-houses, sandstone and sandy soil are prevailing. The northern part of Moreton Bay is preferable to the southern, because it has a greater share of moisture, though the whole district is highly favoured with rain. I have seen the finest crops of wheat at Archer's, Mackenzie's, Balfour's, Bigge's, Macconnel's Station, though these gentlemen just commenced to make the experiment, neither having good and equal grain, (instead of one variety 3 or 4 mixed which ripened unequally,) nor knowing exactly the best time of putting it in the ground; which is of the highest importance, in consequence of the rains.

Besides wheat and sago, the barley, the yellow and brown millet, a species of Guinea-grass, the Indian corn, the English potato, (very fine,) the sweet potato, the pumpkin, (several varieties,) the melon, (water melon, rock melon, &c. &c.,) the sugar-cane, (Archer's Station, and the Bot. garden in Brisbane,) the banana, the pine apple, the cotton tree, (in the Bot. garden defending its miserable existence against the suffocating grasp of the couch-grass,) the yam, the grape vine, the peach, orange, &c., &c. In fact it would be difficult to say, what did not grow, (as cherries, plums, rasp-berries, and similar plants, which require a colder climate.) There is one great difficulty in the culture of the vine, which will never allow Moreton Bay to become a wine-country, though the soil would be favourable for good quality. This is the setting in of the rainy season, at a time when the grape is entering into full maturity. It is of the highest importance to allow the grape to get *dead ripe*, aye even to dry almost on the stem, and turn into raisin. This is a secret, which few vine growers of this country know, and when they know it, they are so much afraid of the loss by birds and thieves, that they prefer to make an early vintage and a miserable watery wine. In Moreton Bay, such a thing as a late vintage, (even an early one) is almost impossible, for the rains set in at the end of January, and last almost through the whole of February. It is therefore my belief, that the Hunter's River District, and Port Stephens will become very valuable, whenever the people will find out, that almost every inch of it is favourable for vineyards.

The cotton-tree will grow well in Moreton Bay, though the plantation in the Bot. garden at Brisbane was any thing but promising. But no care had been taken with it for several years, and the Indian conch-grass is a dangerous enemy. Some specimens which I saw at the Mission, grew very well, and gave a good cotton. England could soon make itself independent from America in opening a settlement at Port Essington, though Malay labour would be required in a climate like that of the north coast of Australia; the cotton obtained in Port Essington, has been sent home, and the first judges have pronounced it to be of the first quality. It grows even wild on the Islands of Endeavour Strait, (at Entrance island).*

When I was in Moreton Bay, I witnessed several cases of ague, though of no malignant character, and readily yielding to some few doses of Quinine; rheumatic complaints were frequent. The fact is that everybody is so careless, so spoilt by the fine climate, that he thinks it almost impossible his body could suffer by any exposure, particularly at the commencement of the rainy season. The master as well as the servant, think it not worth while to change their clothes, when they are drenched with rain, or to have a cloak or a poncho to prevent it. The consequence is, that they are punished by rheumatism, or occasionally by an attack of ague, when their stomach was filled with a greater quantity of vegetables than was good to them. It is a curious fact, that Stations which have no gardens, the people living exclusively on damper and tea or milk and meat, have less illness than those which have gardens and grow abundance of vegetables. I think that the people are liable of eating too much, and I know that frequent cases of diarrhæa are almost always traced to that source, though the water has often been accused to be the cause of it. A garden is, however, such a comfort, and accustoms the people to a regular and pleasing occupation during their idle hours, that I am a great advocate for gardening. I speak of course only of the sheep and cattle stations far off the Settlement, where gardening could not be turned into farther profit.

I never had an instance of working men suffering by heat in

* A specimen of Port Essington cotton has recently been pronounced to be equal in point of quality to the produce of Pernambuco; but the produce of Moreton Bay has been found to be not inferior to that of Georgia. In fact cotton does not appear to require so hot a climate as that of Port Essington or Pernambuco to bring it to maturity. Besides, the practicability of applying European labour to its cultivation at Moreton Bay, is the circumstance of paramount importance in the matter; for I do not suppose that Malay labour on the north coast of Australia would be at all superior, if even equal to Hindoo labour in India. Dr. Leichhardt did not see the specimens of cotton I saw in Dr. Bal- low's garden.

this colony. I myself, not accustomed to hard work, have been occupied for days and weeks in felling trees, in making fatiguing excursions, carrying heavy loads, without any bad effect. In the contrary, working people generally improve in health after leaving the Settlement; for the publican is the real ague of this colony. I felt the heat much more at the Settlement, at Limestone, and under Cunningham's Gap, (Cameron's Station,) than at the Stations to the Northward, which probably depends from the freer access of the sea breeze.

The finest part of the district for extent and quality is perhaps Limestone and its neighbourhood. The richness of its black plains in grasses and herbs is wonderful. It is besides at the head of navigation, and more in the reach of the Squatters than Brisbane.

In the event of an extensive emigration of persons of the agricultural classes being directed to the territory of Cooksland, a great variety of other branches of business, besides agriculture, would there find a highly eligible field and be vigorously pursued, as soon as the circumstances of the country, or the views of enterprising individuals should direct the growing energies of the community into particular channels. The timber-trade, for instance, would receive an immediate impulse, both in the way of supplying an article of exportation, that would serve as dead-weight in the wool ships, and in the working up of that article in the various processes of ship-building, house-carpentry, agricultural implements, and cabinet-making. The Bay, as I have already observed, would present an attractive field for the establishment of a fishery, as also for that of a Soap manufactory, while the sand of Moreton Island, being of the description required for the glasses of achromatic telescopes, would afford the requisite material for the manufacture of glass. The culture of indigo, of cotton, and of sugar, would call into existence the manufactures necessary for the preparation of the raw article for exportation, while a woollen-manufacture, to work up the coarse wool of the country into Colonial tweed, could be established as easily and with equal success at Moreton Bay as at Hunter's River. In the meantime, the supply of coal and lime, both procurable at Ipswich, on the banks of a navigable river,* whether for agricul-

* Excellent freestone for building is procurable in the same

ture, for building, or for manufactures, would afford employment to many industrious families, while the curing of meat, and the rearing of hogs, would not only give employment to labour, but supply an important addition to the exports of the district. In such circumstances, "the schoolmaster" would require to be "abroad," and so also would the minister of religion, the medical man and the lawyer. In short, the whole framework of European society could be reproduced in the territory of Cooksland in a period of time remarkably short, and with probably far greater facility than in any other locality in the British Colonial Empire.

The following are extracts of the evidence given before the Immigration Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in the year 1845, by various highly competent witnesses connected with the Moreton Bay District of the Colony, in regard to the physical character and capabilities of that District :—

THURSDAY, 28TH AUGUST 1845.

Present.

Charles Nicholson, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

The Auditor-General.
Charles Cowper, Esq.
Robert Lowe, Esq.

The Colonial-Secretary.
Rev. Dr. Lang.
Joseph Phelps Robinson, Esq.

Robert Graham, Esquire, called in and examined :—

1. You are a merchant in Sydney ? I am.
2. And are also connected with various pastoral establishments in the Colony ? Yes, both as a principal and as the representative of others ; the district I am more particularly connected with is Moreton Bay.
3. Have you been at Moreton Bay ? I have lived there, and have been there several times since.
4. What is your opinion of that district of the Colony, as a

neighbourhood, as also chalk ; and at Mr. Coulson's Station, twenty-five miles from Ipswich, towards the Gap, plumbago has been discovered. Copper ore, it is alleged, has likewise been found somewhere on the Brisbane, but the discoverer refuses to point out the locality in which it occurs, in consequence of the very illiberal manner in which the Government acts in the disposal of land containing minerals.

favourable field for immigration? I think it would afford a large field for immigration from the mother-country.

5. Do you think it is capable of supporting a large population? I do; I think it much more capable of supporting a large population than the land on the Hunter, which is the only part of the Colony that I am intimately acquainted with, on account of the periodical rains; the climate is more regular there than here.

6. What is the present rate of wages in the district—is it advancing upon former rates? When I was in Moreton Bay, in February last, I made a calculation with Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Balfour, and my brother, and took the average wages paid by each, from which it appeared that my brother paid twenty pounds a-year, some odd shillings, to each of his men; Mr. Balfour twenty-one pounds odd, and Mr. Mackenzie twenty-five pounds odd.

7. Was that a considerable advance upon the previous rate of wages? No, for the district has always been in want of labour, and wages have risen since that; the reason that my brother paid the lowest wages was, that I had engaged a portion of his men in Sydney.

8. Do you anticipate any advance in the rate of wages? Yes, decidedly; Mr. Balfour states in a letter to me that there is scarcely a station in the district which is not from three to four men short-handed.

9. Do you think the increase in the rate of wages is likely to be considerable? So much so that we are now giving free passages to labourers from Sydney to Moreton Bay (one hundred and twenty having been already sent), to be repaid by the settlers, by a voluntary impost upon the stock, to meet the present demand for labour.

10. By Captain Dumaresq—Is wheat grown at Moreton Bay? In some parts; the only navigable part of the River Brisbane upon which, to my knowledge, it has been tried, is at Limestone Government sheep station, and I have never heard of a failure of crops.

11. By the Chairman—What do you think of the country as an eligible field for small farmers? I think it is more likely to yield a certain return to the agriculturist than any other part of the Colony; but it is to be remembered that I am only acquainted intimately with the Hunter's River district as far as Patrick's Plains.

12. Do you think a small farmer coming from England, with say two hundred or three hundred pounds, and settling upon a farm of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres, which he might cultivate with the assistance of his children, would have a good prospect of success in that part of the Colony? All would depend upon the price of land, the distance from market, and the convenience of water carriage.

13. Assuming that he settled on the alluvial flats of the Brisbane? I have no doubt he would make it pay.

14. Do you think he ought to give one pound an acre for the land? That of course would depend upon whether the land was thickly timbered or not; also upon the distance from water carriage; if he had to be at the expense of clearing a dense scrub, or incurring a heavy land-carriage, he could not afford to pay that price.

19. By Dr. Lang—Do you think Moreton Bay would be a favourable field for the production of those articles that are raised in warmer climates, as the vine, the olive, and other productions of the South of Europe? Very favourable; the vine, pine apples, and bananas thrive in that district.

THURSDAY, 4TH SEPTEMBER 1845.

Present.

Charles Nicholson, Esq., M.D., in the chair.

The Auditor-General.
Charles Cowper, Esq.

Rev. Dr. Lang.
Robert Lowe, Esq.

Rev. William Schmidt, called in and examined:—

1. You are a native of Prussia, I believe? I am, of Pomerania, in Prussia.

2. And are you now engaged in the mission at Moreton Bay? I am.

3. You have been in this Colony some years, I believe? I have, nearly eight years.

4. What do you think of the Colony generally, as a field for immigration? I think it a most eligible field.

5. Your experience is chiefly restricted to Moreton Bay? Yes; but I have been over other parts of the Colony.

6. Do you think immigrants might be introduced from Germany, with advantage to themselves and to the Colony? It would not be at all difficult to induce them to come to this part of the world.

7. What class of immigrants might we obtain from that part of Europe? Particularly agriculturists and artizans.

8. From what parts of Germany? Both from the southern and northern parts.

9. Of course, you are aware, that there are large immigrations from Germany to the United States? I am aware there are.

10. Those Germans who emigrate to the United States of America supply the funds for their passage? They do; the emigration to America has arisen partly from religious persecution, and that was also the case, with respect to those who emigrated to South Australia. The emigrants to the United States, and to South Australia, were principally from the provinces of Saxony, Silesia, and Pomerania, in Prussia.

11. Of what religion are they? Lutherans.

12. Do you conceive that the hope of improved circumstances

generally would be a sufficient inducement for persons to immigrate to this Colony ? I have not the least doubt of it, particularly since very favourable intelligence has arrived from South Australia.

13. Were you never out of the Prussian dominions till you came to this Colony ? No.

14. What means would you suggest to the Committee, for the introduction of your countrymen into this Colony ? I think if a considerable sum were remitted, at any rate the amount of the passage-money, in the purchase of land, that would be a sufficient inducement.

15. You think they could pay their own passages ? The greater number, especially if the persecution in the Church should continue ; if that should be discontinued a change would probably take place, and those who are able to pay their passages might not be inclined to come.

16. By Dr. Lang : Are you aware what is the annual emigration to the United States, from Germany ? I should think about thirty thousand annually.

17. And that population pays the expense of its own emigration entirely ? Yes, those congregations who unite in emigrating have generally large funds. In a letter which I have received recently, it is stated that a single congregation have been able to contribute, for the purchase of land in America, nineteen thousand dollars. The amount of capital possessed by the emigrants to the United States is estimated at about five millions of Prussian dollars, which at three shillings a dollar, would be about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

18. By the Chairman : Do you not think we ought to send an agent to Germany, to establish a system of immigration in the first instance ? It would be doubtless a great advantage.

19. By Dr. Lang : Do you think if accurate information respecting the eligibility of this country, as a field for immigration from Germany, were diffused in Germany from such a source as would induce the people to give credit to it, they would be disposed to come here rather than go to the United States ? I think so, for many reasons ; on account of the climate, the soil, and also from the news that have reached them from South Australia, which have induced two new congregations to come out to that place about six or eight months since.

20. They emigrate in entire congregations, establishing a common fund ? Yes ; for my own part I should not endeavour to induce my countrymen to come out except in that way, bringing their minister and schoolmaster with them, because, coming out singly, they would have disadvantages in many respects, from being unable to express themselves in the English language ; from the difference of their habits, and other causes, and particularly from the want of a home ; if, however, they came out in congregations, they would settle upon one spot, and the young

men and women, who were scattered about the district would feel that they had a home to which they might resort occasionally.

21. Do you think the district of Moreton Bay peculiarly eligible for the settlement of such persons? I have not the least doubt on the subject; the soil is most fertile, and the climate is milder than even that of this part of the Colony.

22. By the Chairman: Would you be apprehensive that the penal character of the Colony would interfere to prevent persons of that description from coming out? No.

23. By Dr. Lang: Especially if they came in communities? Just so.

24. What kind of productions may be raised at Moreton Bay? First of all, almost every kind of European vegetable, and also the productions of tropical climates, vine, orange, peach, tobacco, pine apples, bananas, sugar-cane, coffee, flax, maize, wheat, yams, sweet potatoes; cotton thrives very well, and arrow-root is growing very fine. Persons are able to have two crops during one year, of maize and sweet potatoes.

25. Is there a large extent of land in the district of Moreton Bay, suitable for the settlement of small farmers? A large extent; at least as large a tract as that of the Hunter's River, is suitable for small settlers. It has come under my knowledge, that a small settler not far from Brisbane Town has raised about eighty bushels of maize from one acre.

26. By the Chairman: Was that circumstance well authenticated? So I have been told; there is more rain in that district than here, and the heat of the sun is less oppressive.

27. By Mr. Cowper: What would be the expense of the passage of an individual from Hamburgh to this Colony? I am not aware; but I have not the least doubt if a German vessel were taken, immigrants might be brought at a less expense from thence than they could from England.

28. Do you think the rate of wages paid here would be a sufficient inducement to persons to immigrate to this Colony? I think so.

29. By the Chairman: From the north of Germany we should be more likely to have a Protestant community? Yes, they are Lutherans and Calvinists there; those who have settled at South Australia are Lutherans.

30. Have those who have settled in South Australia brought their clergyman with them? Yes, and they have their churches.

31. By Mr. Cowper: Did they purchase allotments of land there? I am informed they settled in the neighbourhood of Adelaide, and held land on a lease from the Company for seven years. The seven years have now passed; they have united with the new arrivals, have bought land, and are now forming little villages and towns.

32. By Dr. Lang: You are aware that there is a considerable disposition to emigrate from Germany, independently of religious persecution? From some of the States there is, but I do not

think the desire to emigrate from Prussia would be so great, but for religious persecution.

33. Can you speak as to emigration from Bavaria? During five years, from the year 1835 to 1840, twenty-four thousand five hundred emigrated to the United States from Bavaria, or nearly five thousand a year; and it was estimated that they carried with them a capital of 7,000,000 florins, or six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. Bavaria is a Roman Catholic State, but with a large Protestant population, whose condition under a Romish Government induced them to emigrate the more willingly.

34. By the Chairman—Where did they embark? Chiefly at Rotterdam and Havre-de-Grace.

John Dobie, Esq., Surgeon, R.N., called in and examined :—

1. You are a settler on the Clarence River? I am.

2. And have been engaged in pastoral pursuits for some years? Yes.

3. During which time you have had occasion to employ a number of shepherds and farm servants? Yes.

4. You have seen a considerable part of the Colony, I believe, have you not? Yes, both the northern and southern parts of the Colony.

5. Will you state to the committee what you consider to be the capabilities of the Colony as a field for immigration from Europe—what advantage does it hold out to the immigrant? I think it holds out many advantages, inasmuch as it not only provides him with a comfortable competence, but with the means of becoming comparatively opulent.

6. Do you think that the labouring man may, by the exercise of industry, sobriety, and prudence, put by a sufficiency to maintain him during old age without labour? I do.

7. By the Auditor-General—Do you consider any climate in the world to be superior to this? I do not; for I have been in almost every country in Europe, in the East Indies, and in North and South America.

8. By the Chairman—What do you think of the capability of the country for supporting a considerable population—do you think there are tracts in this Colony capable of supporting a dense population? Certainly to the north there are, upon the banks of the Richmond River, in the lower parts for instance, thousands of acres fit for agricultural purposes.

9. What do you think of the Clarence? That is more a pastoral than an agricultural district.

10. What is your opinion of New England? That also is a pastoral district.

11. By Dr. Lang—You have been on the Richmond River? I have.

12. Is there not a good extent of alluvial land there ? On the lower part of it.

13. Capable of supporting a dense population ? I will not say a dense population, but comparatively a large one.

26. By the Auditor-General—Do you think immigration to this Colony is equally advantageous to the mother-country and to this Colony ? I think it is of as much consequence to the mother-country as it is to this Colony ; we both partake of the benefit. I think it is a perfect absurdity for any one to imagine that it cannot be of advantage to the mother-country ; nay, looking at the frightful statement lately made in the House of Commons, by Sir James Graham, of the amount of pauperism in England, I think it criminal in the British Government in allowing any part of its population to starve, when one of its colonies, possessing such an abundance of food as we do, would be glad if they will only send the people to work for it, and to eat it. Upon the score of humanity, this cannot be too strongly urged upon the Home Government ; this is, however, taking but a very limited view of the advantages to the mother-country—that of merely getting rid of its redundant population. Let the Home Government send us a sound and healthy race, we shall soon turn their labour into a source of profit to themselves, render them happy, comfortable, and contented, and the Home Government will soon be repaid by the increased demand for their manufactures.

27. By Dr. Lang—Have you visited any of the British colonies of North America ? Yes.

28. What do you think of the comparative advantages to free immigrants coming to this Colony, or going to any of those ? The advantages this country holds out to the immigrant are far beyond those presented by the North American colonies ; the two countries cannot be compared in point of climate ; here we have a splendid climate and mild weather, instead of a long dreary winter ; there the people suffer very many privations. I have been in North America when the people could not work for six or eight months in the year ; during the greater part of that time the country was covered with snow ; in this country there is no interruption to a man's labour.

29. Which of these colonies have you been in ? Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and also in the United States.

30. Do you think an immigrant coming to this country and hiring himself out as a servant, has a much better prospect of establishing himself comfortably on his own account, within a limited period, than he would have in any of these North American colonies ? There cannot be a question about it.

31. And also as to the prospect of acquiring wealth ultimately ? Yes ; the article of clothing is very expensive in North America, but that is a very trifling expense to men here ; the expense of clothing in North America would take up half a man's wages ; the article of clothing is almost the only expense a man is put to in this Colony.

32. Do you not think that the advantage to the immigrant of having his labour made available for the cultivation of the ground for the whole year in this Colony is of great importance? There cannot be a doubt upon this point.

33. Can two crops be obtained in the most favourable situations of the North American colonies during their short summer? No, that is quite impossible in North America, inasmuch as the summer is not above three or four months in duration; we may have two crops in this Colony.

34. By the Auditor-General—Might not fresh sources of industry be opened in your district? The principal source of industry is pasturage.

35. Might not the vine be cultivated? No doubt it might; but the district to which I belong is principally pastoral. I am not aware that there is much agriculture there, it being chiefly confined to individual stations.

36. By Dr. Lang—Do you consider the condition of the shepherd a comfortless one? Certainly not; I think it is a very comfortable and easy life; a man has a comfortable hut, his rations are regularly supplied him, and he has no laborious work.

37. And it affords him a prospect of a comfortable independence? Yes, I have now men in my employment who have purchased mares, and these mares are in the course of producing stock; these men have been only a short time with me, but have saved their wages.

38. Are you aware whether it is generally the case that shepherds are possessed of stock, to a greater or less extent? They are principally possessed of horses; their great object is to get a mare; there are a great many of my men who have got money in the Savings' Bank; I seldom come to Sydney without paying money into the Savings' Bank on account of my men.

39. By the Auditor-General—Do you find the shepherds employed by you generally save their earnings? Some do, and it is within the compass of all to do so; for they are furnished with everything excepting clothes and tobacco, and they are clothed with very little cost; but some are indifferent about it.

40. By Dr. Lang—Is the climate to the north favourable for field labour for European constitutions? It is; I have seen no country where a man may be exposed to the weather with less danger than this; indeed it is a climate very far superior to any that I have been in.

In addition to these valuable items of information, the reader will find various interesting and important observations, both on the capabilities of the northern division of the Colony and on the advantages to be derived from an influx of emigrants into that part of

the territory from Germany, in the following letter; which was written, at my suggestion, to the Chairman of the Immigration Committee of the Legislative Council, by the Rev. Christopher Eipper, for several years a missionary to the Aborigines of Moreton Bay :—

LETTER from the Rev. CHRISTOPHER EIPPER, Presbyterian Minister of Braidwood, to the CHAIRMAN of the IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE, 18th September 1845.

SIR,—Understanding that a Committee of the Honourable the Legislative Council has been appointed to take into consideration the important subject of Immigration, and having been apprised, by one of its members, that it would not be unwilling to receive suggestions from persons possessed of local or other information on the subject to come before it, I beg leave to submit to you the following observations, on the eligibility of the District of Moreton Bay for the settlement of numerous families and individuals of the humbler and middle classes of the soil-cultivating population of the south of Germany, who, I am satisfied, could be induced, by a very little encouragement, to emigrate partially or entirely at their own charges, and settle permanently either in that District or in other parts of the Colony. I am a native of Wirtemberg, in the south of Germany, myself, and have, besides, some acquaintance with the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Switzerland, and Alsatia. In the District of Moreton Bay I have resided, as a missionary to the Aborigines, from the month of April 1838, till October 1843, when the mission was broken up.

The climate of Moreton Bay I have found peculiarly salubrious, and more equable than that of the Colony generally; the severe drought of 1839, for instance, not having been felt in that district. Its soil, from its very variety of lightness on ridges with a substratum of clay, and of richness on flats of black loam, produces, in great abundance and perfection, sweet potatoes, maize, wheat, pine apples, peaches, bananas, plantains, mulberries, sugar-cane, pumpkins, melons of every sort, arrow-root, yams, limes, lemons, citrons, oranges, nectarines, coffee, tobacco, millet, every sort of vegetables; and, from its proximity to the tropics, it would doubtless be found capable of producing most of the plants growing in tropical parts.

The observation of its capabilities has frequently led me to reflect, how well it would answer the various branches of culture peculiar to the south of Germany—such as the vine, tobacco, flax and hemp, millet, rape, and poppies for oil, krapp, and other weeds for dyeing, thistles for carding cloths, &c. And as many of these productions, and chiefly the vine and tobacco, are not raised in the British Isles, immigrants from Great Britain and

Ireland are less likely to turn such a soil and climate to proper account. With a view, therefore, of developing the capabilities of this Colony, it would seem desirable to introduce such immigrants as would, from their practical knowledge of the culture of new branches, be best fitted to accomplish so desirable an object. Without fear of being accused of partiality, I may say, that the Germans have generally been found to make good colonists, on account of their industrious and frugal habits, their intelligence and perseverance, in which assertion I am borne out by the flourishing condition of the German settlements of South Australia. This Colony would therefore unquestionably derive great benefit from the formation of one or two settlements of German agriculturists and vine-dressers at Moreton Bay, or in other parts of the Colony, or from the general dispersion of such throughout the Colony, should such a plan appear to be preferable. They might, if successful, not only lead the way to others of their countrymen, who might wish to follow them, but also set an example of the culture of various new branches to British immigrants.

I am not aware that the disposition to emigrate has at all declined in the south of Germany, or any where in that country, as the same causes by which it was engendered—oppressive taxation, over-population, and want of religious and civil liberty—are, to the best of my knowledge, still in existence. Emigrants have, hitherto, chiefly gone to the United States; but other parts of the world—Poland at one time, the south of Russia at another, and Algiers at a later period, all within the last forty years—have attracted great numbers of emigrants from my native country; in the Southern provinces of Russia, the Crimea, Bessarabia, Grusinia, the Caucasus, and Astrachan, there are upwards of thirty parishes of Germans, many of whom are Wirtembergers. Every opportunity, indeed, which offered, was eagerly, but often to their bitter regret, embraced by many individuals and families of my countrymen; no matter what country they went to, if they had but the means of reaching it, or of purchasing or otherwise acquiring a small farm. Of the general eligibility of this Colony, and its superior salubrity, my countrymen are, I may say, entirely ignorant, with the exception of the few who may have received some information either from myself or other German missionaries. The main hinderance, however, to their emigration hither is its distance from Germany. The length of the sea-voyage, as in itself it deters many, renders the expenses of the emigrants so great as to cause them to dismiss every thought of emigrating to this country from their mind; for, on an average, there will amongst ten emigrants not one half be found who reach the place of embarkation with funds in their possession amounting to fifty pounds sterling—a sum hardly adequate to defray the cost of a passage to New South Wales for a man with a wife and one or two children. His prospects, on landing, would consequently be only starvation in a strange land, or ser-

itude ; a condition which, of course, is not his object or aim to attain to, in leaving his country and kindred. But I have no doubt emigration to this country from Germany, and the Continent of Europe in general, would at once commence, if its general advantages and eligibility were properly known, and some such encouragement were offered to the emigrants, as ensuring to them the remission of the purchase-money of whatever land they might buy on their arrival, at the present minimum price up to the actual cost of their passage out. Thus, if a family of a husband and wife, and one or two children, had paid fifty pounds for their passage out, they should be allowed to purchase fifty acres of land at the minimum price, and receive the same, free of cost, with six months' rations. There are, however, numbers of the labouring agriculturists and vine-dressers of Germany who, after selling all they are possessed of, would not have sufficient means to defray the cost of their passage out, especially if they have large families, but who would, nevertheless, from their practical knowledge of various new branches of culture, be a great acquisition to the Colony. The majority, indeed, of the emigrants from Germany to the United States land in New York without any funds in their possession ; and, having neither the means of proceeding to the back settlements in the west, nor, if able to proceed through the assistance of some friends or relatives, of purchasing land at the low price of that country, drag on, either in the towns or in the interior, a miserable life, and are scarcely able to subsist. It would therefore be sufficient inducement if, to such as have no means to defray their own passage, a conditionally-free passage to this country were offered, that is, with the understanding, that on their landing in the Colony they were to hire with the settlers as farm-servants or vine-dressers for a period of three years ; of their first year's wages their employers should be required to pay in advance the one-half, which should go towards refunding the expenses of their passage out. Considering the benefits which the country would derive, the sacrifice would not be great, if the other half of the cost of passage were remitted to the foreign immigrant, while the granting an unconditionally-free passage to the British subject would still show that, as such, he was considered as entitled to greater advantages than a foreigner, who might be equally if not more useful to the Colony, but who was bound to servitude for a period of three years, and after the lapse of that period might, with the savings from his wages, purchase a small farm of twenty or thirty acres.

It is chiefly from the smaller and Protestant German States that the stream of emigration has hitherto flowed ; the larger States, Prussia and Austria, which are not bound by constitutions, having till very lately successfully, because tyrannically, shut up their subjects in their dominions. The majority of emigrants have been, I believe, Protestants of the Lutheran and

Reformed Churches, and I am satisfied there would be no difficulty in finding in Wirtemberg, Baden, Switzerland, and Alsatia alone, large numbers of emigrants, not only Protestants but truly pious men, which, in a religious point of view, would be a great acquisition to this country. They would consist partly of such as are possessed of funds adequate to defraying the cost of their passage out, on the understanding that such outlay would be made good to them, by the remission of the purchase-money of such land as they may acquire, and that they were to form one or two separate settlements ; and partly of such as would embrace the offer of a conditionally-free passage, half the cost of which was to be refunded from their first year's wages, by settlers hiring them on their arrival in the Colony ; this latter class would, by their dispersion through the Colony generally, benefit it at once, and perhaps even more than the former by the formation of separate settlements.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHRISTOPHER EIPPER,

Presbyterian Minister, Braidwood, St. Vincent.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SQUATTING SYSTEM.—ITS EFFECTS AND PROSPECTS IN COOKSLAND.

“And they went to the entrance of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and peaceable ; *for they of Ham had dwelt there of old.*”—1 CHRON. iv. 39, 40.

ALTHOUGH it is the principal object of this work to point out the capabilities of the territory of Cooksland as a field for the emigration of a numerous and industrious population of the agricultural classes, from the mother-country, it would be inexcusable not to devote some portion of it to the description and development of its superior capabilities and prospects as a Squatting district, or, in other words, as a pastoral country, peculiarly adapted for the grazing of sheep and cattle. This has doubtless been done to some extent already, in pointing out the adaptation of the country, in its natural state, for the rearing of flocks and herds; but the Squatting System is of too much importance to the future colony of Cooksland, not to demand a separate and distinct notice.

It was a favourite theory with the infidel philosophers of the last century, that man originally existed as a wild hunter, eating the fruits and roots which the

earth produced spontaneously, and traversing its vast forests, without any settled habitation, in search of game.* Some benefactor of his species, however, whose name, unfortunately, has not descended to posterity, hit upon the happy expedient of taming the wild sheep, the wild cow, and the wild horse, and subjecting these animals, in a domesticated state, to the uses of man. The painted savage then made himself a movable tent to live in, covered with the skins of his sheep and goats; removing it, successively, from one Squatting Station to another, according as the grass or the water failed, and traversing the open country with his flocks and herds, like those ancient Squatters, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, of happy memory. The earth was then a vast common, to which no man pretended to have any other right than the right of temporary occupation, which was supposed to cease and determine the moment he struck his tent and removed his flocks and herds to a different *run*. There were no cities or towns at this period, and no such division of labour as we have now; every Squatter being shoemaker and tailor, house-carpenter and weaver, butcher and baker, in short, a perfect jack-of-all-trades, for himself. This, moreover, was the golden age of the world—at least the poets have told us so, and the philosophers do not

* “The discoveries of ancient and modern navigation, and the domestic history or traditions of the most enlightened nations, represent the human savage naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language. From this abject condition, perhaps *the primitive and universal state of man*, he has gradually risen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens.”—GIBBON.

There is not even the shadow either of evidence or of probability for the allegation that the savage state was *the primitive and universal state of man*. The voice of history, both sacred and profane, proclaims the contrary. Nay, there is not even the shadow of evidence to prove that in any one instance in the history of man, a people in such a state as the eloquent historian describes, has raised itself, by its own inherent energies, to a state of civilization.

contradict them—peace and harmony reigned everywhere, and uninterrupted felicity. It is somewhat unfortunate, indeed, for this theory, that so early in the history of Squatting as the era of the patriarch Isaac—of whom we are divinely told that “the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very GREAT, *for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants;*” the items constituting his greatness being thus precisely those that constitute the greatness of an Australian Squatter—it is peculiarly unfortunate for the theory in question, that so early as the era of Isaac there were exactly the same quarrels and contentions between rival Squatters about their wells, or “water-holes,” whether the latter were natural or artificial, as still occur occasionally in New South Wales: and the case of the sons of Jacob kidnapping their own brother, and selling him for a slave, not to mention that of Simeon and Levi and their stockmen sacking a whole town, is rather unfortunate for the character of this golden age; for we have no reason to suppose that the shepherds of Arcadia were a whit better than those of Syria and Palestine.

The next step in human progression was the conversion of the Squatter into an agriculturist, or tiller of the ground; on which occasion, we are told, he converted his tent into a permanent dwelling-house, and his right of occupancy into a fee-simple, just as the Squatters of New South Wales have been anxious to do for years past, by means of leases for twenty-one years; for it is evident and unquestionable to any person at all acquainted with the physical character and circumstances of that country, that if these leases were once granted by Act of Parliament, all the power of Britain would be utterly insufficient to prevent the numerous and powerful corps of Squatters—extending as they will very speedily, from Cape Howe to Cape York, along a tract of country 2000 miles in length, and 500 or 600 in breadth—from converting them into absolute free-holds, long before the twenty-one years

were expired, *if they were so inclined, and chose to make common cause against the Imperial authorities.**

Now it would doubtless have been very interesting to the philosophers of last century to have seen their theory so beautifully illustrated as it is unquestionably, to a certain extent, in Australia. In that country, in its natural state, man is exactly in the condition in which he is represented to have been universally in the primitive earth of the philosopher,

“When wild in woods the naked savage ran.”

The period of transition, however, arrives with the European Squatter, who takes possession of a large tract of the waste unoccupied country, with his flocks and herds, and calls it his *run*; getting a license from the Local Government, for which he pays £10 a-year, and which secures him, for the time being, in the occupation of an extent of perhaps 120 square miles of good natural pasture, and perhaps ordering or hunting off the unfortunate Aborigines—who, in all likelihood, were born upon the spot, and can have no idea either of the nature of the license, or of the paramount authority from which it emanates—from the said *run*. For it is here that the philosopher's theory altogether fails; the Squatter is not the wild hunter or savage man, *elevated*, so to speak, by his own native energies, *above himself*, but a totally different man altogether, who takes possession of the native country of the latter, without permission and without compensation, and calling it his *run*, orders the native off, because, forsooth, his cattle somehow do not like black men, and start off in a fright at the sight of them! In short, it is scarcely possible to contemplate the natural condition of the Aborigines of Australia, and their universal and determined adherence to their savage mode of life, even after being half a century in close contact with European civilization, without being driven, perforce, to the conclusion,

* Leases of fourteen years have been granted under an Act of Parliament recently passed. The shorter term of the lease will not greatly affect the ultimate issue.

that if the wild hunter or savage state had been the primitive and original state of man, he would have continued a savage to all eternity. Not only is there no instance in any country of the savage ever raising himself, by his own native energies, above his natural condition ; he actually resists every effort to effect his elevation in the scale of humanity, when such efforts are made by others. This is doubtless a most important fact in the natural history of man ; especially as it demonstrates the utter vanity of that “ philosophy falsely so called,” which sets itself in opposition to the testimony of God.

From the hints I have just given, two things must be obvious to the reader.—First, that, considering the amazing rapidity with which sheep and cattle increase in all parts of Australia, and the large extent of land occupied by each Squatting Station, the occupation of all the available portion of the vast continental island of New Holland with the flocks and herds of Europeans, will be effected in a comparatively short period of time, under the present Squatting system ; and, secondly, that the extension of that system will almost necessarily involve the speedy extinction of the Aboriginal race. Even where actual collision does not take place between the white and black races, the latter, like the leaves in autumn, uniformly disappear before the progress of European colonization, at a lamentably rapid rate, which even European vice and European disease are insufficient to account for ;* but when hostile aggression on either side, followed by something like a war of extermination, comes in aid of this natural

* This rapid disappearance of the Aboriginal races of all the British Colonies, even in circumstances much more favourable for their preservation than those in which the Squatting System has unfortunately placed the Aborigines of Australia, is a phenomenon in the science of Ethnology equally lamentable and unaccountable. The following is a case remarkably in point, from the Journal of a distinguished traveller, with whose acquaintance I have been honoured :—

decay of the feeble race, the process of extinction is fearfully accelerated. It cannot be denied that such aggression is sometimes commenced by the black na-

EXTRACT of the Journal of an Expedition from Pirara to the Upper Corentyne, and from thence to Demerara, under the command of SIR ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGK.

"Reluctant as I am to despair, the conviction is forced upon me, that the Indian race is doomed to extermination. Six years have scarcely passed away since I wandered to this spot, on visiting the sources of the Essequibo. We left the settlement Eischalli Tuna, and passed on our route to the Taruma Indians three villages of Atorais or Atorajas, and one of Taurais, the latter containing the remnant of that sister-tribe of the Atorai nation. The villages have vanished; death has all but extirpated the former inhabitants, and I am informed that of the true Atorais only seven individuals are alive. From the accounts I received in 1837, I estimated the number of Atorais and Taurais at 200, including the descendants of mixed marriages, and of that number about sixty are now left.

"The measles, so fatal to the Indians, has twice decimated the Atorais; and at the commencement of the present year, the small-pox, brought from the colony to Pirara, ravaged from thence to the southward, so far as these poor people. Their belief in the secret influences of the Kanaima, who has only to breathe upon his victim in anger to send him to an untimely grave, operates as banefully as that species of witchcraft called Obiah, practised among negroes, which, acting upon their superstitious fears, is frequently attended with disease and death. Nor is it the Atorais and Taurais alone whose rapid extinction is thus going forward; similar causes are operating over the whole Indian population of the colony. The village of Wapisiana Indians called Eischalli Tuna, from which I started in 1837, is no longer in existence, and of its then inhabitants only one female and three children are now alive. Many of my former acquaintances among the Taruma Indians are now buried, and I have already alluded to the rapid decrease of the Macusis. But the most affecting picture that now presented itself among the many Indians assembled around us, was Miala, the last remnant of the once powerful tribe of Amaripas. Singled out by destiny to be the sole survivor of a nation, she wanders among the living. Parents, brothers, sisters, husband, children, friends, and acquaintances are all gone down to the silent grave; she alone still lingering, as the last memorial of her tribe, soon to be numbered, judging by her faltering voice and tottering steps, with those of whom tradition alone will record that such a tribe existed. Alas! a similar fate awaits other tribes; they will disappear from those parts of the earth on which Makunaima, the Good Spirit,

tives and without any apparent provocation ; but in by far the greater number of instances it originates with the Europeans. The very prohibition of the Aborigines to " walk all about," as they express it themselves in their broken English, in the land and on the spot of their birth—a prohibition, perhaps, enforced with threats, and sometimes even with the dogs and guns of the Squatters and their stockmen—is itself an aggression of the most serious description to the hapless Aborigines ; for as the country is all parcelled out among the different tribes of the latter, each having its own well-known boundaries, a tribe which has been driven from its own hunting-grounds

placed them, and which, since the arrival of the European, has become the vast cemetery of the original races.

" The Amaripas inhabited the regions about the Tuarntu mountains, near the river Wampuna ; and as Miaba well recollects when the late Dr. Hancock was at the Upper Rupununi in 1811, I had a fixed point from which to date my inquiries, as to whether the extinction of the Amaripas had been slow or rapid. She told me that at that time their number was not quite so many as two men had fingers and toes, (I concluded she meant about 35 individuals,) and of that number Miaba alone remained in 1843.

" The grass of the extensive savannas which surrounded the dwellings of the Amaripas will no more be trodden by one of the descendants of this tribe, and ere long the deer alone will range over those thousands of square miles of herbage plains, once the bed of a vast inland lake, now the grand burial-place of the Amaripas, the Atorais, the Wapisianas, and Macusis. Let us hope, however, that the poor remnant of these people may be preserved from destruction, and that, instructed in the Christian religion, and relinquishing their unsettled mode of life and superstitious customs, they may become happy and useful members of a Christian community.

* * * * *

" We passed soon after noon the site of the Daurai settlement, where, on my journey to and from the sources of the Essequibo in 1837-38, we had rested. It was now perfectly overgrown with bushes, and the spots where the huts formerly stood could not be reached without using the axe and cutlass. Scarcely six years had elapsed, since I found here a settlement of nearly forty persons ; two grown-up individuals of the number are now all that are known to be alive."—*Geogr. Society's Journal for 1845.*

by European intrusion has no place to retreat to, as the fact of its entrance without permission into the territories of other tribes, is held tantamount by the natives to a declaration of war.

Of the good-feeling and kindly dispositions of a large proportion of the more respectable Squatters towards the Aborigines, there can be no doubt; but very many of their servants, being "old hands," or Expiree convicts from New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, are thoroughly unprincipled men, and are often guilty of the most unprovoked, wanton, and reckless outrages upon them—robbing them of their *jins* or wives, setting their dogs upon them, and inflicting blows with little or with no provocation at all. This naturally leads to retaliation, and that retaliation, agreeably to the principles of Aboriginal justice, is unfortunately not visited upon the actual aggressor, but upon the first white man or men the infuriated natives happen to fall in with, and are able to overpower. For a considerable time after the discovery and occupation of the country called Gippsland, at the south-eastern angle of Australia, the natives of that part of the territory lived upon the most friendly terms with the Squatters and their stockmen; accompanying them on their journeys, and occasionally giving them important information and assistance. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship was rather troublesome, as they would enter the huts without invitation, just as the white men had entered their country, and help themselves to any thing they took a fancy to. On one occasion two of these natives happened to enter the hut of a Stockman in the service of Lachlan Macalister, Esq., one of the first Squatters in the district, and were making themselves quite at home, in their usual way, when the stockman, annoyed at their familiarity, and at the likelihood of their taking something that did not belong to them, gave one of the natives a violent blow with the butt-end of the musket he happened to have in his hand at the time, which knocked him down. The other native, naturally indignant at the barbarous treatment which his comrade had re-

ceived from the white man, instantly seized his spear, and was in the act of hurling it at the stockman, when the latter, firing his piece at him, shot him dead upon the spot. The first native, who had only been stunned by the blow, immediately made off, and reported the whole affair to his tribe. It was a considerable time before an opportunity for retaliation presented itself to the natives, and it was hoped by the Europeans who were cognizant of the affair, that the bad impression it must have produced on their untutored minds had worn off. One day, however, when Mr. Macalister, junr., a young gentleman from the Highlands of Scotland who had charge of his uncle's establishment, was riding out alone with a double-barrelled gun on his shoulder, he happened to fall in with two natives, and as they were mutually known to each other, they entered into conversation apparently in the most friendly manner. In the course of this conversation, however, the natives pretended to be wonderfully taken with the gun, and expressed their desire to see and examine it more closely. With this desire Mr. Macalister unfortunately complied, handing them the gun without the least suspicion of their design; but no sooner had the natives got possession of this object of their fears, than one of them launched his spear at the unfortunate young man, and wounding him fatally, they dragged him from his horse, and speedily despatched him with repeated blows of their clubs. From that period up to the time of my departure from the Colony, there had been no intercourse of any kind between these black natives and the European Squatters of Gippsland; and the probability is, that a war of extermination would ensue.

Collisions of a somewhat similar character had taken place between the Europeans and the black natives in the western district of Port Phillip, shortly after the original occupation of that country by the flocks and herds of numerous Squatters, chiefly from Van Dieman's Land, in the year 1836; and the consequence has been, that from this and the other causes combined

to which I have adverted, the number of the natives has been diminished exactly one-half, or from 2000 to 1000 during the last ten years. I question whether there will be anything like 500 remaining at the end of the next ten years.

There was a great sacrifice of human life on the part of the Aborigines, although to what extent I could not exactly ascertain, and a great destruction of European property in sheep and cattle, in the attempt to form an extensive Squatting Station, undertaken on account of a large proprietor of stock in New South Wales, at Wide Bay, in latitude 26° S., a few years ago; and in conversing on the subject with a Scotch runaway convict from Moreton Bay, whom I shall have occasion hereafter to introduce to the reader, and who had resided and been naturalized and domesticated among the natives of that part of the territory for upwards of fourteen years, I was much pleased with the good feeling exhibited by the man, who appeared sincerely to regret this loss of life as well as of property, and who assured me that if he himself, or any other person at all acquainted with the habits and feelings of the natives had been at the Squatting Station at Wide Bay, there would not have been a single head either of sheep or of cattle lost, and peace and harmony would have been maintained between the Squatters and the natives. The Station had ultimately to be abandoned at a great loss to the proprietors; but other Stations have since been formed, under better management, and with corresponding success, much farther to the Northward.

This state of mutual distrust and apprehension on the part of the two races, on certain of the frontier Stations, has given rise to a horrible practice, which, I fear, however disgraceful to the British name, has been but too extensively practised within the Colonial Territory—I mean, that of mixing up arsenic or corrosive sublimate in the *dampers* or *hominny*, the unleavened wheaten cakes baked in the ashes, or the maize-meal porridge with which the Settlers and Squatters of the Colony

occasionally treat the natives. The idea that such a thing had been done in any part of the British Empire has doubtless been scouted in certain quarters; but I have no doubt whatever that it has been done again and again. Nay, it is consistent with my own knowledge that it has been openly justified and defended in the Colony by people who have had not less than "ten years' experience in the bush in New South Wales," and whose education, whose profession, and whose station in society ought to have taught them better things.

The subject of the poisoning of the black natives happened to be mentioned at a meeting of a Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, on the state of the Aborigines during the Session of 1845, of which I happened to be a member; and one of the members having expressed a doubt as to whether such an atrocity had ever been practised in the Colony, W. Suttor, Esq., M.C. for the county of Roxburgh, stated, that he had hired a free immigrant from England some time before, either as a shepherd or hut-keeper, at a station to the westward of Bathurst, and as the black natives had been rather troublesome in the neighbourhood shortly before, he asked the man when ready to start, whether he was under any apprehensions from the natives? "Oh no," replied the man, with an air of confidence, and going to his box which was just about to be placed on a dray to proceed to the station, and producing a brown-paper parcel, he added with a sort of triumph, "I have got something here that will keep them quiet." Mr. Suttor thought the paper might contain powder and shot, but he found to his horror, on further inquiry, that it contained arsenic! I need scarcely add, that Mr. S. took the paper from the man, and told him he could allow no such practices at any station of his. This man had been little more than six months in the country at the time, but he had been long enough in it to have learned how the black natives were treated, when they were at all troublesome, at certain other stations in the Colony.

In answer to the following questions, addressed in a

circular to various magistrates and other influential persons throughout the Territory, by the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines, to which I have just referred, the subjoined replies were given by G. A. Robinson, Esq., Chief Protector of the Aborigines for the District of Port Phillip :—

What is the probable number of Aborigines in your District, distinguishing males, females, and children ? The probable estimate of the Aboriginal population is upwards of 5000, thirty-five per cent. being males, twenty-eight females, and thirty-seven children.

Has the number diminished or increased, and if so, to what extent, within the last five or ten years ? The number of Aborigines in the settled districts has decreased within the last six years to the extent probably of twenty per cent.

To what cause do you attribute the decrease ? The decrease is attributable to collisions with Europeans, to intestine strife, to feuds, but principally to the effect of European disease ; and, *in some instances, there is reason to fear the Aborigines have been poisoned, and the ends of justice defeated, for want of legal evidence ;* the only witnesses to be obtained in such cases being the Aborigines, who are disqualified on account of their legal inability.

A case of alleged poisoning of black natives, to the extent of from thirty to fifty, which was noticed at the time, although very vaguely, both in the Colony and in England, occurred in the northern portion of the district of Moreton Bay in the year 1842. And as it was I who caused it to be noticed at all, although I was unable at the time from want of definite information to follow it up, and as I unexpectedly obtained some additional information during my visit to Moreton Bay, in the months of November and December 1845, I shall simply state what I have learned respecting it, and leave the reader to form his own opinion.

The Rev. Mr. Schmidt, and one of his lay-brethren, of the German Mission to the Aborigines of Moreton Bay, having occasion to proceed about fifty miles to the north-west of the Mission Station, near Brisbane, in the year 1842, to ascertain the practicability of establishing a branch of the Mission in the Bunya-Bunya country in that direction—a measure which had been strongly re-

commended to the Governor, who then contributed a portion of the general expenditure of the Mission from the Public Treasury, and who had therefore a right to interfere in its affairs—was astonished to find, that when he reached a particular part of the route, the black natives who were along with him, as guides and companions, refused to proceed any further; alleging that they were in danger of their lives, from the tribe into whose territory they were then on the point of entering, as a large number of the natives of that tribe had recently been poisoned at a Squatter's Station in the District, and as either white or black men coming from that part of the country, would be sure to be murdered by the exasperated natives in revenge. An intelligent native of Mr. Schmidt's party, standing upon the stump of a tree at the place where they had halted, related to Mr. S. how the affair happened, evidently exhibiting a deep interest in the matter. A band of natives had appeared at the Squatter's Station, and the latter had given them, professedly as a treat, a large quantity of *hominy*, or maize meal pudding, which they all like very much, but in which *a white stuff like flour* was mixed. The natives, (to the number of upwards of thirty, it was alleged,) who partook of it died very soon after their feast, and the impression, on the part of the survivors, was that they had been poisoned—with arsenic, knowingly and designedly administered by the Squatter. The very same report had been brought to the Mission Station, before Mr. S. had set out on his expedition, by two of the lay-brethren, who had received the intelligence from the natives of another tribe, and Mr. S. had heard the report himself at Brisbane, from respectable Europeans. After a day or two's delay, the black natives of Mr. Schmidt's party expressed their willingness to proceed, if two or three natives of the tribe of which they were apprehensive could be got to bear them company, and this arrangement having been made, the party proceeded to the Bunya-Bunya country, and returned in safety.

As I was the Secretary of the German Mission at

the time, Mr. Schmidt's journal of the expedition to the Bunya-Bunya country, containing an allusion to the case of the alleged poisoning of so many of the natives, was forwarded to me; and as the expedition had been undertaken with the approbation and concurrence of the Governor, Sir George Gipps, I forwarded it to His Excellency, without alluding in any way in my communication to the affair of the poisoning. It was some time before the journal was returned, and when I received it, I found the passage containing the report of the black natives underlined in red—a very appropriate colour for an affair of blood. This was the very thing I wished; it showed that the circumstance had attracted the notice of the Local Government, without subjecting either my friend Mr. Schmidt, or myself, to the odious charge of being an informer: it also showed that the Government contemplated some proceeding on the subject. To strengthen this resolution, therefore, to stir up His Excellency's pure mind by way of remembrance, and to bind him over to prosecute the contemplated inquiry to the utmost, by making him amenable to public opinion, I immediately published the journal, with the underlined portion in italics, in a department of the Colonial Press to which I had access at the time. The following is the passage I refer to:—

Extract from Observations made on a journey to the Bunya-Bunya tree country, from the 1st to the 18th June, 1842, by the Rev. W. Schmidt.

Our nine natives were rather undecided whether they would accompany us any farther, being very much afraid the strange mountain natives might attack and kill us and them. This fear arose from the circumstance, that one of the mountain tribe, (a brother of a chief,) was lately killed in a fight, by one of the fishing-tribes. Mr. Archer himself stated, that he was afraid we might meet with some disaster, as the relatives of that unfortunate man were very angry, and would revenge themselves.

There was also another reason, which influenced greatly our natives against going any farther, viz.: a large number of natives, (about 50 or 60,) having been poisoned at one of the Squatters' Stations. The neighbouring tribes are going, we are told, to attack

and to kill the whites wherever they meet with any. Under these circumstances, of course, there was a strong faith necessary to counteract their fear, and to pursue our plan in spite of all the hindrances which already commenced rising against us.

The circumstance naturally attracted some notice in the other Colonial Journals, although I am sorry to say not much; the zeal of those who deemed the subject at all worthy of their comments being chiefly expended in vituperating Mr. Schmidt, as being the originator of a report, so utterly unfounded as it was alleged to be, and so injurious to the high character of the Squatters. But Mr. Schmidt was in no way the originator of that report. It was the common talk at Moreton Bay at the time, and as the Governor himself had visited that settlement by the same vessel by which Mr. S. had just returned to it, after an absence of several months in Sydney on the business of the Mission, he had heard the report himself on the spot as soon as Mr. S., although I have been told, he remarked, when he did so, that "it had been got up purposely to annoy him!" Annoy him, forsooth!—as if the Governor of a British Colony, the representative of Majesty, could with any propriety consider it an *annoyance* to be called on to do his duty in a case in which the national honour, and the lives of the most defenceless of Her Majesty's subjects, were concerned! But whatever may have been the private feelings of the Head of the Local Executive in the case, the public mention of the circumstance in the Colonial Press rendered it necessary to do something in the matter, to save appearances; and accordingly a letter was written by the Colonial Secretary to Dr. Simpson, Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Moreton Bay District, desiring him to ascertain the grounds on which the Rev. W. Schmidt made the statement contained in his Journal. Mr. Schmidt, of course, had no other grounds to offer than the report of the black natives, corroborated as it was by their own procedure on the journey to the Bunya-Bunya country. And in saying so, he reminded the Governor, in his letter on the subject to

the Colonial Secretary, that His Excellency had heard the report from the same quarters as himself, when at Moreton Bay. At all events, it was not Mr. Schmidt's duty as a Missionary, but the Governor's as the fountain of justice, to search out the matter to the bottom. But nothing further was done in it, although the officers of the settlement were in daily expectation at the time of the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to have it thoroughly investigated. If, therefore, it is a fundamental principle of all law, whether human or divine, that the Ruler or Judge who has a case of atrocity like the one in question brought before him, and neglects to vindicate the majesty of the law and to secure the high ends of justice, is to be held *particeps criminis*, Sir George Gipps has still this black blood upon his hands; and now that Her Majesty has at length relieved him of the task of misgoverning the most important of Her Australian Colonies, he may wipe it off, if he can.*

The following Journal of an Expedition to the Wide Bay River, in latitude 26°, undertaken at the instance of the Local Authorities, in the year 1842, and conducted by Mr. Andrew Petrie, whom I have had occasion to mention in a former chapter of this work, will show how deep an impression this affair of the poisoning of the natives had made upon the Aborigines over a wide extent of country to the northward, and how powerful a hold it had taken of the native mind. The expedition was undertaken to discover and to bring up to the Settlement certain runaway convicts from Moreton Bay, who, it was well known, had been living among the native tribes to the northward, some of them for many years; and in order to induce them to return, Mr. Petrie was authorized to assure these runaways, if he found them, that they would be treated as freemen at the Settlement, which was no longer a Penal Establishment, and that no punishment would

* Sir George Gipps was alive when this was written. He has since gone to his account. I see no reason, however, why I should expunge a syllable of what I had written in the case.

be awarded them for having effected their escape. The affair of the poisoning, it will be seen, is alluded to in the journal quite incidentally, but in a way which can leave no doubt upon the mind as to the reality of the deeply disgraceful and damning fact. I may add, that at the time when Mr. Petrie gave me the journal, I had never spoken to him on the subject of the poisoning of the natives in 1842, and he could have had no means of knowing that I had ever taken any further interest in the matter than might have been expected from a Christian minister and an honest man. Indeed, when, on reading the journal for the first time after my return to Sydney, and discovering the strong corroboration it contained of the fact alleged in Mr. Schmidt's journal, over which the Local Government had so strangely thrown the mantle of concealment, I wrote to him for additional information, he seemed rather shy about giving it,—which, as an old *employé* of Government, I thought quite natural; for I have uniformly observed that when the Head of a Colonial Government has signified his wish in any way that any subject or circumstance should pass into oblivion, the burden of the song of all his subordinates is—

“ Oh no ! we never mention it ! ”

JOURNAL of an EXPEDITION to the WIDE BAY RIVER, in the year 1842, by MR. ANDREW PETRIE.

May 4th, 1842.—Left Brisbane Town at day-break; set sail at Breakfast Creek, wind from the south-west; made the north end of Bribie's Island Passage at dusk. Lay at anchor and sleep in the boat till day-break.

5th.—Made sail for the river Marootchy Doro, or the Black Swan River; arrived there at two o'clock, but was afraid to enter, it being low water at the time, and a heavy surf on the bar. Made way for Madumbah Island, distant about two miles from the river, but could not effect a landing, from the surf. Set sail for Bracefield Cape, and arrived shortly after sunset in the bay or light. There was a very heavy swell, which made it difficult landing. Before leaving the boat we were surprised to see twenty or thirty Aborigines running along the beach, coming to meet us. I made signs to them to carry us ashore, and they immediately jumped into the water up to the arm-pits. I was

the first who mounted their shoulders. They appeared bold and daring, and I immediately suspected that this must be the place where several shipwrecked seamen had been murdered by these black cannibals. Little did I think at the time that the one who carried me ashore was the principal murderer. The moment he put me off his shoulders he laid hold of my blanket, but I seized him and made him drop it. He then took hold of a bag of biscuit, and would have taken it away, had I not taken strong measures to prevent him. There were no guns on shore, and those on board were not loaded ; so I called for my rifle, and loading it, kept them at bay, and at the same time made them carry our luggage on shore. We then gave them a few biscuits, and ordered them off to their camp, retaining the murderer and another, and keeping regular watch all night, each of us taking an hour in turn. During supper I made inquiries after *Wandie*, the bush name of the runaway Bracefield, and was informed by the natives that he was only a short way off.

6th.—Early this morning I despatched our two blacks and one of this tribe with a letter to Bracefield. He could not read, but one of the blacks mentioned my name to him when he gave him the letter, and he started instantly to join us, accompanied by three of his tribe,—his adopted father, and two of his friends. About eleven o'clock the blacks observed them coming about five miles off, and Mr. Jolly, myself, Joseph Russell, and the black fellow went along the beach to meet them. Bracefield, when we met him, had the same appearance as the wild blacks ; I could only recognise him [as a European] from having known him before. When I spoke to him he could not answer me for some time ; his heart was full, and tears flowed, and the language did not come ready to him. His first expression was to thank me for being the means of bringing him back to the society of white men again. He was anxious to hear about the Settlement, and whether anything would be done to him ; but I assured him that no punishment would be inflicted on him. On coming along to our camp, Bracefield said to me, " I suppose, Sir, you are not aware that the black you have got with you is the murderer of several white men." The moment he observed us talking about him, he darted off into the bush in an instant, just as I was looking round at him, intending to shoot him. This bay or inlet has a river in the bight, which forms several large lakes, or sheets of water. A few miles inland from one of these lakes, Mrs. Frazer* was rescued from the blacks by Graham, and conveyed to the boats which were anchored at the same place where we encamped.

* The wife of Captain Frazer, of the *Stirling Castle*, already mentioned, who was murdered by the black natives at Frazer's island.

7th.—Set sail about 8 A.M., wind S.E., taking Bracefield with us, and landed about 4 o'clock ; distance 30 miles.

8th.—Set sail across the bay with a south-east wind, about 11 A.M., and about 3 P.M. were in the passage leading into what is called Wide Bay. Landed for the purpose of getting a black fellow, then sailed down the passage about six miles, and encamped on Frazer's Island.

9th.—Started at sun-rise, taking the direction from the strange black fellow. A dense fog continued until 11 o'clock. We steered N.W., and the wind springing up from the N.E., we continued sailing and pulling about among the islands, looking out for the river, but without success.

10th.—Started early, circumnavigated Gammon Island, and landed nearly where we started from. Observing a black's fire on Frazer's Island, I proposed making for that point, intending to take bearings from the high land, from which I also thought I might see the river. While engaged in taking bearings, I descried the river accordingly. It is called the Wide Bay River. While I was on the hill, the rest of the party procured some fresh water, and tried all they could to persuade one of the natives to accompany us across to the river, but were not successful. They appeared afraid of us, more especially of Mr. Wriothsley's red shirt. We left the island about 3 P.M., reached the mouth of the river at sun-down and encamped on Jolliffe's Head. This point of land is of marine formation ; the strata are peculiarly laid up and intermixed ; they lie at an angle of 70° , forming a ridge of land, covered with scrub, along the north shore. In this scrub I found a species of pine, not known before. It is similar to the New Zealand Cowrie Pine, and bears a cone. It forms a valuable timber. The blacks make their nets of the inner bark of this tree.

11th.—Ascended the river about twenty miles ; next day, about twenty-five miles higher ; and the following day, about four miles—about fifty in all, where we found the navigation stopped with rocks and shingly beds. After we landed, I despatched Bracefield and our black Ullappah, to see if they could find any natives, but they did not succeed. After their return, Ullappah speared a fine fresh-water mullet, with flat mouth and red eyes, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. weight. Shortly after, I took a stroll, but without my gun, and quite alone not expecting to meet with any blacks ; I had not gone above half a mile from the camp, when I heard the sound of natives, who appeared to be numerous. I immediately went back to the camp, and sent off Bracefield and the black to them. They were absent about an hour and a half, and reported on their return that they were afraid to go near their camp, as they were so numerous. Bracefield was sure there were some hundreds of them. He and the black were both very much frightened. Bracefield informed me the man we were in quest of, Davies, or *Darumboy*, which was his bush name, was sure to be with this tribe ; on which I offered to accompany him and as-

sist him in procuring him. Bracefield said it would be much better for me to remain at the camp, as I should otherwise be running a great risk, and proposed that two of our party, Clark and Russell, who were both prisoners of the Crown, [convicts,] should go along with him, as if they succeeded in bringing him into our camp, something might be done for these men in the way of mitigating their punishment. I assented, arranging with them to go to their assistance if we should hear their guns fire, and they went off accordingly, about half-past 4 P.M., and about sun-down returned with Davies. Bracefield behaved manfully in this transaction. He directed Russell and Clark to remain at a distance, while he and the black fellow should steal in upon the strange blacks. Soon after the two got in among them, the two white men were observed, and the strange blacks immediately snatching up their spears were running off to murder them, when Davies and Bracefield prevented them, and no doubt saved the lives of the two men. By this time Bracefield had been recognised by a great number of the Wide Bay blacks, who knew him, and told him [as the reason of their murderous intentions towards the two white men] that *the white fellows had poisoned a number of their tribe*. But he explained to them that we knew nothing of it, and that we were come to explore the river and country. During this time Davies darted off to Russell and Clark, and gave himself up to them, without waiting for Bracefield and the black; and when they came up to the others, he told Bracefield that he had come to take him, for the purpose of getting his own sentence mitigated, and insisted that he had, refusing to believe Bracefield's asseverations to the contrary, until Bracefield got into a passion at him, and sung a war-song to him. With that he bolted off to our camp, our men being scarcely able to keep pace with him. I shall never forget his appearance when he arrived at our camp—a white man in a state of nudity, and actually a wild man of the woods, his eyes wild and unable to rest for a moment on any one object. He had quite the same manners and gestures that the wildest blacks have got. He could not speak his “mither’s tongue,” as he called it. He could not even pronounce English for some time, and when he did attempt it, all he could say was a few words, and these often misapplied, breaking off abruptly, in the middle of a sentence, with the black gibberish, which he spoke very fluently. During the whole of our conversation his eyes and manner were completely wild, looking at us as if he had never seen a white man before. In fact he told us he had nearly forgotten all about the society of white men, and had forgotten all about his friends and relations for four years past; and had I, or some one else, not brought him from among these savages, he never would have left them. One of the first questions he asked me was about the Settlement at Moreton Bay, which I gave him to understand was now a free Settlement, and a very different place altogether from what it was when he left it fourteen years ago. I only guessed at the pe-

ried from some of the prisoners mentioning about the time he absconded, as he had no idea of it himself, and could not tell what time he had been in the bush. At the same time I assured him that no punishment would be inflicted on him for absconding.

I then told Davies it was my intention to proceed to Bahpal, an adjoining mountain, but he strongly advised me not to attempt this, for if we divided our party, the men that we should leave at the boat would be all murdered before we returned, as there were some hundreds in the camp; and he told us we would require three or four men to keep watch during the night, for in all probability they would then attack us. At the same time he asked if I would allow him to go back and remain with the blacks during the night, as he would endeavour to make all right with them, so as to prevent their attacking us during the night, pledging himself to return to us by daybreak. He mentioned to us at the same time that *the blacks were determined to attack us, as they would have revenge for the poisoning of their friends at some of the stations to the South.* Davies then bade us good night, and left us. The greater number of our party, mostly all except myself, never thought he would come back, or, if he did, they thought it would be heading the blacks against us. This made our party very timid, and I therefore thought it would be advisable to put all our luggage into the boat and lie on board all night. We accordingly remained in the boat and kept a regular watch during the night. At daybreak I ordered three musket shots to be fired at intervals, to let Davies know that we were still in the same place, awaiting his coming. About sunrise he joined our party, accompanied by a black, who had possession of a watch belonging to a man of Mr. (now Sir Evan) M'Kenzie's, who was murdered by the same tribe.

Bracefield and the black Ulappah had accompanied Davies to the native encampment, and when they reached it, seeing our black so plump and fat, the Wide Bay natives asked Bracefield and Davies if the white men would take the part of the black and attack them if they were to kill and eat him. They both gave them to understand, in reply, that there were a great many white men and arms at the boat, and that in that case they would come and shoot them all. Bracefield on this occasion had stripped off the clothes we had given him, and was immediately recognised by a great many of them, who invited him to sup with them and remain for the night. Davies and he made them believe that they would both return to them; and before leaving the camp Davies made them an oration, informing them that it was not to molest them, but to explore the river and the country, and to search for Davies, that the white men had come, and that *they knew nothing of the poisoning of their friends.* They intended them no harm, if they (the blacks) would not molest them; but, if they did, they would all be shot by the white men, as their spears were nothing

to our guns. This had the desired effect, for in the morning, at the first report of the musket we fired, not a murmur was heard, the mothers making their young ones lie quiet lest we should hear them ; at the second report the greater part of them took to the scrub ; and on hearing the third report, they nearly all fled in the greatest consternation. Thus terminated our manœuvres with the natives.

14th.—Descended the river about 20 miles. During our encampment we were all very much entertained with Davies' description of the manner of life and customs of the blacks, and also with his exhibiting the process of catching the emu and kangaroo. They make a play or game of this sport among themselves. Happening in the course of the evening to ask him if he could climb the trees with the wild vine, he started up instantly, threw off his clothes, and, procuring a vine, was at the top of one of the trees with it in a few minutes. His clothes were a great annoyance to him for some days.

On arriving at Frazer's Island, I made Davies and Bracefield inquire at the blacks where the white men's bones were lying [those of Captain Frazer and his unfortunate shipmates.] They said they would show us them. We went along with them, and, on arriving at their camp, a black fellow brought out a large dilly [native basket] full of the bones of black men. After Davies had explained to them more minutely what we wanted, they pointed to a place about ten miles' distance along the sea-beach. We would have gone this far, but our time was up, and we had to return. The blacks are very numerous on this island : there is a nut they find on it which they eat, and the fish are very plentiful. The formation and productions of the island are much the same as those of Moreton island ; the timber is a great deal superior, and also the soil ; the cypress-pine upon Frazer's Island being quite splendid. It is 60 miles long, by 10 or 12 wide.

The Wide Bay River is navigable for a vessel drawing nine feet water for about 40 miles up. The country on its banks is a good sheep country, and the farther you proceed to the westward the better the land. The blacks informed me there is a river about ten miles beyond the Wide Bay River, and another more to the north-westward, and a third, larger than all the others, still farther to the westward, and pointed a long way into the interior to where the water came from. This last river we thought must be the Boyne. They also informed us that there was a beautiful country about forty miles from the Bahpal mountain, extending quite to the ocean, and abounding in emus and kangaroos. According to their account, this country is thinly wooded ; and as there is now (Dec. 1845) a party out exploring it, it will shortly be occupied and stations formed in it.

I should not have occupied so much space in the

discussion of the case of the poisoning of the black natives—although Mr. Petrie's journal is interesting and merited insertion on other accounts—had there not been an attempt made in England not only to explain away the whole affair, but to throw unmerited odium on account of it on the German missionaries. With this attempt an able and highly respectable writer on the physical character and capabilities of the northern portion of the Colony of New South Wales, to the *southward* of the 30th parallel of south latitude—I mean Mr. Clement Hodgkinson, Government Surveyor in the Macleay District—has identified himself, apparently without knowing very well what he was doing. In a work published during his recent visit to England, Mr. Hodgkinson thus expresses himself:—

“Some German Missionaries have been for some time among the blacks at Moreton Bay, and one of them has obtained considerable notoriety from having deliberately accused the Squatters in that District of having poisoned upwards of fifty of the native blacks. The Squatters of Moreton Bay are almost all gentlemen of education and good connexions, many of them being retired officers, and the ridiculous improbability of the general accusation brought against them by the Rev. Mr. Schmidt was so universally felt in the Colony, that little trouble was taken to remove the aspersion cast upon them. On my arrival in England, however, I found that this affair had been seriously taken up by the Aborigines Protection Society, who threatened to have it brought before Parliament. Much discussion on the subject has also appeared in the columns of the Colonial Gazette. These German Missionaries seem to be men of great disinterestedness, and actuated by the most philanthropic motives in their endeavours to ameliorate the moral condition of the Australian Aborigines. They were probably misled by the natives, and thoughtlessly made a general accusation against the Squatters, without sufficiently reflecting on the grave nature of the charge, and the odium which would rebound on themselves if they failed in making it good. According to the account of the Squatters, it would appear that some sheep, diseased and scabby, had been dressed as usual with arsenic, which, with corrosive sublimate, is the ordinary remedy for scab. These sheep had been “rushed” by the blacks, and a number of them carried off, and it is supposed that the arsenic caused the death of some of the thieves.”*

* Hodgkinson on the Macleay River and the Northern Settlements of New South Wales, p. 114.

Now it will be evident from the preceding narrative that the German Missionaries, or rather Mr. Schmidt, brought no "general accusation," such as Mr. Hodgkinson speaks of, against the Squatters. In fact, they brought no accusation at all. Mr. S. merely inserted in his journal the reason which the natives, who were along with him on his journey to the Bunya-Bunya country, assigned for refusing to enter into the territories of the Bunya-Bunya tribe; and but for myself, for the reasons I have stated above, that journal would, in all probability, never have seen the light. To tell the plain truth, I am strongly of opinion that the German Missionaries did not feel particularly obliged to me for the publication of the journal: but conceiving that I had a high duty to discharge to society in the case, I did not feel myself called on to ask their opinion on the subject beforehand. The German Missionaries were peculiarly men of peace, and perhaps it was my impression at the time that they would have done too much in the case in question, in the way of keeping silence in the cause of the blacks, for the maintenance of peace with all white men.

But as to Mr. Hodgkinson's vindication of the Squatters, in reply to the alleged accusation of them by Mr. Schmidt, what does it amount to? Why, it is merely a general certificate of previous good character and reputation—the last refuge of the destitute in the case of a specific criminal charge! Such a charge can admit only of disproof or of denial, and is in no way affected by a certificate of previous good character in favour of the accused. It is consistent with my personal knowledge, that there were gentlemen both of education and of highly respectable connexions at Moreton Bay, who believed the charge brought by the blacks—not by Mr. Schmidt—to be well founded; and who were sincerely desirous for their own character and reputation, as well as for the ends of justice, that the truth should be ascertained and disclosed, whoever might suffer from its disclosure. The Local Government of the period had it fully in its power, which no private

individual, especially residing in Sydney could possibly have, to have ascertained the truth in the matter, if it had been ascertainable at all; and why it did not at least make the attempt to do so has yet to be explained.

But of what value is Mr. Hodgkinson's general denial of what he calls Mr. Schmidt's "general accusation" of the Squatters? It is evident from his own book, that Mr. Hodgkinson was never within the territory of Cooksland—was never to the northward of the 30th parallel of South latitude on the east coast of Australia; for although the book professes to give some account of Moreton Bay, no man of discernment could suppose for one moment—considering the powers of description exhibited by Mr. H. in the account he has given of the Macleay, the Nanbuckra, and the Bellingher Rivers, which he *had* visited, and with which he was comparatively well acquainted, and the very meagre account he has given of the Clarence and the Brisbane Rivers—that he could ever have visited the two latter rivers at all. Mr. Hodgkinson's own district—that of the Macleay River—is at least four degrees of latitude to the southward of the locality to which the charge of poisoning referred, and the intervening country is an impracticable country for travelling either north or south, towards the coast, across which there was no communication whatever before Mr. H. left the Colony for England.

Then, as to the explanation of the whole affair which Mr. H. has volunteered for the Squatters, the quantity of arsenic used in the solution for washing a scabby sheep is so small, that if the whole of it were incorporated in the flesh of the animal, and eaten, it could not possibly destroy life, even if the whole quantity used in dressing a sheep were to be concentrated in the portion of mutton which a single black fellow could be supposed to eat.* Besides, as the natives uniformly

* This is the opinion of a Medical gentleman of deservedly high standing in the Colony.

roast the flesh they eat, and as arsenic is well known to be an exceedingly volatile substance, and easily sublimated by heat, the greater portion of it would be volatilized and dissipated by the action of the fire before the meat could be roasted. But the Aborigines are neither so stupid nor so unreasonable as, in the event supposed—that of any of their number dying from eating scabbed sheep, which they had themselves rushed and stolen—to accuse the owner of the sheep of having wilfully poisoned them. The fact is, the charge had no reference to sheep whatever; it was simply that the arsenic or other white poison, of which, as they alleged, at least thirty of their number had died, had been mixed *expressly for the purpose* in a mess of hominy prepared for them at the station of a Squatter in Moreton Bay; and a charge of this kind is not to be either answered or set aside by such vague and irrelevant generalities as those in which Mr. Hodgkinson has rather imprudently dealt in his work on the Macleay River. The intelligent native, who acted as Mr. Schmidt's guide to the Bunya-Bunya country, and whose language Mr. S. perfectly understood, held up his ten fingers *three or four times in succession*, to intimate that at least thirty or forty of his race had died of the poison! And the natives of the Ningé-Ningé tribe, on the coast, to the northward of the Brisbane River, had previously given precisely the same information to Messrs. Niqué & Rodé, of the German Mission, the latter of whom was the most fluent in the native language of all the Missionaries. In short, that there had been a great, as well as a base and treacherous sacrifice of Aboriginal life on the occasion in question, on the part of some Squatter or other in the Moreton Bay District, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt; and participating, as every honest man must, in the feeling of virtuous indignation at the foul dishonour that was thus brought upon the British name, as well as in cordial though unavailing sympathy with the hapless Aborigines, we may well ask with the poet—

Quis, talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulixi,
Temperet a lachrymis ?—VIRG. *ÆNEID*, Lib. ii. *

The reader will doubtless perceive, from the preceding statements and remarks, that the extension of the present Squatting system will, in all likelihood, involve the speedy extinction of the Aboriginal race in Australia, and also that this melancholy consummation will be greatly accelerated by the general employment of the class of persons who now constitute so large a proportion of the shepherds and stockmen of that country—I mean the “old hands,” or Expiree convicts of New South Wales and Van Dieman’s Land. Am I then to be understood as recommending the discontinuance or prohibition of the Squatting system for the preservation of the Aborigines? By no means. “God,” we are divinely assured, “made the earth to be inhabited;” and no intelligent person can suppose for a moment that this Divine constitution, in so far as the vast continental island of Australia is concerned, can possibly have been fulfilled or carried out by the Aborigines of that country. It is also equally undeniable, that as that extensive portion of the earth’s surface, in so far as it can be rendered available for the purposes of man, has evidently been created a pastoral country, it must have been the Divine intention, in regard to it, that it should ultimately be occupied by the flocks and herds of civilized men. For, even if the Imperial Government were mad enough to attempt to controvert this Divine appointment, it would be utterly impracticable to prevent the gradual occupation of the available portions of Australia, for the purpose which the country has thus been designed to serve. And as the facts and circumstances I have detailed will show that the protection and preservation of the Aborigines can

* It may perhaps be done into English, as follows :—

Who but a myrmidon of Sir George Gipps’,
Could have so sad a story on his lips,
Nor shed a tear ?

scarcely be intrusted, with any degree of confidence, either to the Local Executive or to the Squatters, it remains to be inquired what measures are likely to prove most effectual in ensuring to the utmost extent possible this desirable result, or in lessening the present deplorable evils of the Squatting system, while the means of its unlimited extension are secured to the Squatters.

Now I have no hesitation in stating my belief and conviction, that no measure will be likely to prove so effectual, for all these purposes combined, as the one I have been recommending all along throughout this volume—I mean the speedy and extensive settlement of an industrious and virtuous agricultural population from the mother-country throughout the territory of Cooksland. Such a population would necessarily, at least in the present state of society in the Australian Colonies, call into existence an enlightened press, which would be supported by a weight of public opinion that would virtually compel the Local Government to investigate to the utmost any such case of blood and murder as the one which the Government of Sir George Gipps allowed to pass over unnoticed in the year 1842. It would supply a superior class of persons, as shepherds and stockmen to the Squatters, and render collisions with the black natives much less frequent than they have hitherto been—depending exclusively for this species of labour, as the Squatters have been for some time past, on emancipated convicts from Van Dieman's Land. It would also lead to the establishment of friendly relations with the Aborigines, and elevate the tone of feeling in regard to them throughout the country generally. And to revert for one moment to the philosophic theory adverted to in the outset of this Chapter, this most desirable transition of the country, from its secondary or pastoral into its tertiary or agricultural state, will as little imply the transformation of the Squatter into an agriculturist, as the former transition, from the wild hunter to the pastoral state, implied that of the wild native hunter into a

Squatter. The three races, so to speak, will keep very much distinct from each other—I mean as to any interchange of occupation; and there must consequently be an influx of agriculturists from the mother-country to effect the second transition, just as an influx of Squatters was absolutely necessary to effect the first.

The Australian Squatter is a being perfectly *sui generis*: there is nothing like him in any other part of the British Dominions; there is nothing at all analogous to him in the United States of America. In the latter country the term implies some person of the humbler walks of life, whose only property is an axe, with a few articles of household furniture and implements of agriculture, and who goes forth into the vast forests of the frontier-settlements, clears, fences, and cultivates a few acres of land, erecting upon it a log house, the whole of which, designated in the language of the country his *betterments*, together with his right of pre-emption, which his adventurous labours as a Squatter have secured, and which the National Government very wisely respects, he probably sells to the first emigrant who heaves in sight, either from Europe or from the Eastern States, looking out for a location, and then moves off farther west, to repeat the same process afresh; as the precursor and pioneer of civilization. But the Australian Squatter, especially in the northern and southern divisions of the great colony of New South Wales, is, as Mr. Hodgkinson rightly observes, a man of education and respectable connexions; and if not a gentleman born and bred, as indeed is not unfrequently the case, he has generally a quantity of stock that implies a considerable amount of pastoral capital. The proper names scattered over the map of Cooksland, appended to this volume, are those of the proprietors of the respective Squatting Stations into which the country is divided among the actual Squatters; ten pounds being payable annually to the Government as a license for the occupation of each station, the boundaries of which are defined by the resident Commissioner of Crown Lands, in proportion to the amount of

the Squatter's stock, allowing generally for four years' increase. In the district of Moreton Bay the extent of each Squatting station may be reckoned on an average at from a hundred to a hundred and twenty square miles. Owing to the great extent of land occupied by each Squatting station, the country available for such pursuits is soon taken up; and as the pastoral country is for the most part quite distinct from the agricultural—the latter being generally alluvial land thickly wooded, on the banks of rivers—the two pursuits are mutually helpful to each other, and seldom interfere.

From the rapidity with which any new tract of country *is taken up*, as it is called, in consequence of the continual influx of fresh Squatters, and the natural increase of sheep and cattle, it soon becomes difficult to find a new *run* or station at all; and in many parts of the Middle District, or New South Wales proper, the country is at least adequately if not more than sufficiently stocked already. In Port Phillip or the Southern District, there is doubtless room for a much larger increase; but this does not imply that the country is *not taken up*, in the estimation of the actual Squatters: for as it was the custom of the ancient kings of Persia to surround their dominions with a tract of unoccupied waste land, that they might have no intercourse with their neighbours, so it is the delight of persons of this anomalous class of colonists to surround their respective domains with as large an extent of unoccupied waste land as possible, to provide for the largest possible increase of their flocks and herds; and into these *vast solitudes* no Turk or Tartar is allowed to enter. In the Moreton Bay District it is already difficult to find an unoccupied *run* or station to the Southward of the 26th parallel of South Latitude; for although there is a large extent of pastoral country to the north-westward beyond the Darling Downs, it does not appear to be well watered; Mr. Colin Campbell, a respectable Squatter on the Downs, who had penetrated into it to a greater extent than any other person had done, having had considerable difficulty in effecting his retreat from it, from

the want of water. Stations have accordingly been formed for some time past on the upper part of the Boyne River, which, rising in the north-western interior, pursues a north-easterly course to the ocean, and empties itself into the Pacific at Rodd's Bay in Port Cartis, on the 24th parallel of South Latitude.

When the Squatter has selected and secured his run, and can say for the time being, at least, "I am monarch of all I survey," his first care is to occupy it with his flocks and herds, and to erect temporary dwellings for himself and his servants, as well as folds for his sheep or stockyards for his cattle. In the first instance, these dwellings are generally formed of slabs, and covered with bark; glass windows, a deal floor, a shingled roof, and an additional apartment or two besides the original one that serves for all purposes, with perhaps a neat garden, being added gradually if the Squatter is a man of taste and leisure, or has any regard either for personal convenience or for appearances. In the Port Phillip district, where a large proportion of the Squatters are recent arrivals from Scotland, and where the greater cold of the climate renders a greater degree of attention to personal comfort absolutely necessary, the Squatters' huts have generally a stone built chimney projecting rudely beyond the line of the slab wall, but suggesting ideas of snugness and comfort that reconcile the traveller to the rude appearance of the habitation; but this is never seen in the milder climate of New South Wales and Cooksland. The cost of such supplies for the station as must be conveyed to it from the nearest considerable town—sugar, tea and salt, &c., as well as flour and maize, in the first instance—will be greater or less according to its distance, and the facilities or difficulties of transport; but most Squatters, at least those at a distance, have sooner or later a patch of cultivation, where they raise sufficient grain for the consumption of the establishment.

Some stations are appropriated entirely to sheep, others to cattle, according to the quality of the pasture, or the caprice of the proprietor; but the greater number have both sheep and cattle, and many have

horses also. The high and dry ground, where the pasture is neither too rich nor too abundant, is best for sheep; the low swampy ground, or the rich alluvial flats, being best adapted for cattle. As sheep, however, have latterly been a more profitable description of stock, many cattle-runs have been transformed into sheep-stations, when the nature of the country has admitted of such a change. The number of sheep in a flock is generally from 600 to 800; but in the open country of the Darling Downs, as well as in a few other tracts of a similar character to the Southward, as many as from 2000 to 2500 sheep can be run with safety in a single flock. *Runs* or stations are frequently sold in the Colony, with all the stock on them, and it is often difficult to dispose of a large flock or herd of cattle at all, unless the run is *given in* with them. I have heard of a thousand pounds being given for a run over and above the value of the stock.

The profits of sheep-farming depend very much on the original cost of the animals, and on the price of the wool; and a few years ago, when sheep were generally purchased at four times their real value, as estimated by the annual income derivable from them in wool, while the price of wool in the English market subsequently experienced a serious and unexpected reduction, it was no wonder that the speculation should prove generally unfortunate, and involve many in ruin. But when purchased at a moderate price, and managed with prudence and economy, sheep, although in all circumstances a precarious, are, generally speaking, a highly profitable description of stock. This indeed may be reasonably inferred from the numbers of all classes and professions who annually abandon the cities and towns of the Colony, and become flock-masters in the vast interior of Australia. At all events, the rearing of sheep and cattle is a much less precarious employment now, than it was a few years ago, before the Boiling-down system, to which I have already adverted, had established a minimum price for both sheep and cattle.

The following are the calculations of a practical man,

in regard to the results both of sheep and cattle farming, when engaged in on a respectable scale, in Australia. They are extracted from the recently published work of a Squatter at Port Phillip:* for as the results of sheep and cattle farming are much the same in all parts of the vast territory of New South Wales, it is of little consequence for what part of that territory such calculations have been made.

Supposing, therefore, that any person, or any two such persons in company, possessing a capital of £3000 altogether, should purchase 4000 sheep at 5s. a head, (the price when Mr. Griffith left Port Phillip,) the said sheep would cost £2000, and would consist of 2400 breeding ewes, 600 hoggets, and 100 wedder lambs and rams. Bullock-drays, bullocks, and horses, would cost £200 additional, leaving £800 to be deposited in the bank to buy stores, pay the wages of hired servants, and meet contingencies. The expenses and returns from such an outlay of capital would be as follows :

FIRST YEAR.

Expenses.

Wages of four shepherds at £20 each,	.	£80	0	0
Rations for do. at £5 each, .	.	20	0	0
Two hut-keepers ; one extra man, . .	.	75	0	0
One bullock-driver and rations for do.,	.	30	0	0
One working overseer and rations, . .	.	45	0	0
License and assessment, . . . . .	.	26	14	4
Shearing and washing, . . . . .	.	40	0	0
Travelling expenses, with tear and wear of				
hurdles, . . . . .	.	100	0	0
Rations for proprietor, . . . . .	.	30	0	0
		<u>£446</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>

Returns.

Wool of 4000 sheep, at 2½ lbs. each fleece, 11,000				
lbs. at 11d. per lb., . . . . .	.	£504	3	4
Wool of 2000 lambs dropped in April and May,				
at 1½ lbs. each fleece, viz. 3000 lbs. at 1s.,	.	150	0	0
		<u>£654</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
		446	13	4
Balance, £207 10 0				

* The Present State and Prospects of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales. By Charles Griffith, A.M. Dublin, 1845.

SECOND YEAR.

Expenses.

Expenses of first year,	£446	13	4
One additional shepherd, one hut-keeper, .	50	0	0
Additional charge for assessment and license,	8	6	8
Additional cost of shearing,	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£515	0	0

Returns.

Wool of 6000 sheep, averaging, as before,			
16,500 lbs. at 11d.,	756	1	8
Wool of 2500 lambs, viz. 3125 lbs. at 1s., .	156	5	0
400 widders, sold at 5s. each, after shearing,	100	0	0
200 ewes boiled down, at 5s. each, . . .	50	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£1062	6	8
	515	0	0
	<hr/>		

Balance, £547 6 8

In the third year the Squatter would shear 11,000 sheep and lambs, and his gains would increase proportionally.

The elements of uncertainty in these calculations are the prime cost of the sheep and their subsequent market-value, the rate of wages and the price of wool. These are all subject to considerable fluctuations; and, as a general rule, it may be taken for granted that when sheep are above ten shillings a-head, the speculation is rather doubtful.

The circumstance which ought decidedly to give the territory of Cooksland the preference at the present moment, in the estimation of any person intending to embark in pastoral pursuits in Australia, is, that it is the only portion of the vast territory of New South Wales which presents an unlimited field for squatting, and an unlimited outlet for stock. The recent discoveries of Dr. Leichhardt and Sir Thomas Mitchell have shown that, both to the northward and the north-westward, there is a vast extent of waste land available for pastoral pursuits, which already invites the Squatter, and promises him a rich return for his enterprise and capital and labour; and as the whole of the stock that will ere long be occupying this extensive country must be introduced into it from Cooksland, that part of the territory will unquestionably derive the greatest benefits from its discovery. As the expedition of Dr. Leich-

hardt is one of the most interesting and important events that has yet occurred in the history of Australia, the reader will doubtless be pleased to have the following brief account of its origin, its objects, and its success, incorporated in this volume.

During the first Session of the present Legislative Council of New South Wales, held in the year 1843, a motion to the following effect was submitted to the Council by Charles Nicholson, Esq., M.D., one of the six members for Port Phillip, and now Speaker of the Council:—

EXTRACT from the VOTES and PROCEEDINGS of the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, No. 35.

TUESDAY, 3d October 1843.

2. Overland Route to Port Essington—Dr. Nicholson, pursuant to notice, moved the following resolution:—

That whereas the establishment of an overland route between the settled parts of New South Wales and Port Essington will be attended with important additions to our geographical knowledge of the interior of Australia, and is an object the accomplishment of which is also likely to be attended with great advantages to the commercial and other interests of this Colony, by opening a direct line of communication with the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago—with India, and other parts of Asia: Resolved, that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of such a design, and the means whereby it may be carried into effect; and that they do report to the Council the result of such inquiry, with as little delay as possible.

Question put and passed; and Committee, consisting of the following members, appointed:—

Mr. Elwin.	|	Mr. Wentworth.
Dr. Lang.	|	Mr. Macarthur.
Mr. Suttor.	|	Dr. Nicholson.

I confess I was rather sceptical as to the Colony of New South Wales being likely to derive any benefit from the establishment of an Overland communication with Port Essington; but regarding the measure in its bearings on the cause of Geographical Discovery in Australia, in reference to which it appeared to me that the Local Government had long been singularly neglectful both of its interests and its duty, I regarded the inquiry as one of the utmost importance to the Colony.

One of the principal witnesses examined by the Committee was George Windsor Earl, Esq., a gentleman who had been many years among the islands of the Indian Archipelago, to the northward of New Holland, and was well acquainted with the physical character and capabilities of Port Essington. The following is an extract of the examination of this gentleman :—

31. By the Chairman—You do not think we might calculate upon a class of labourers from Timor ? I do not think Timor so likely to be a source of labour as the Serwatty Islands and Timor Laut, a chain of islands extending to the eastward of Timor, and directly facing the north coast of Australia, the natives of which would be the best and cheapest description of labourers for Port Essington. These islands are very populous, so populous indeed that sometimes the distress among them is very great. The last time I visited Kissa, an island near Timor, where there are a considerable number of Christians, they had been suffering from drought for three years, and out of a population of 8000, they had lost 300 from starvation, or from diseases produced from being obliged to resort to a very inferior description of food, such as the young shoots of trees. If I had had the means at that time to have removed them, a-half or two-thirds of the population would have been glad to have gone to Port Essington with me.

32. Are these proper professing Christians ? A portion, comprising about one-third.

33. Is it a mere profession ? No, many are tolerably well educated, and possess considerable knowledge of the Scriptures.

34. Have they a priesthood ? Yes, they were originally converted by the Dutch Missionaries about two hundred years ago ; and Missionaries have resided on several of the islands from 1828 to 1840. They have now removed to Amboyna ; and the native teachers, or schoolmasters, officiate in the churches. There is a great variety in the natives of these islands ; those of Kissa are a very excellent, quiet, and orderly people ; they are tolerably educated, and can read and write very well ; the people of Timor Laut are not so orderly ; and instances have occurred of the crews of vessels having been cut off by them ; but I have seen them in European Settlements, and they have behaved very well.

41. By Dr. Lang—Do you know anything of the natives of Celebes ? Yes ; I was at Celebes in the early part of this year in H. M. S. “Chameleon.” I have also formed an acquaintance with them at Port Essington ; they are a very enterprising and courageous people, much addicted to commerce, and traverse the Archipelago in their *prahus* from one extremity to the other.

42. Have the people of many other islands, besides Kissa

been evangelized by the Dutch ? There are many Christians on the other Serwatty Islands, and also on Timor and Rattee. The people of Amboyna, about thirty-five thousand in number, are Christians almost to a man. This island is the head-quarters of Christianity in this part of the world. There are also a few on the Arroo Islands. The natives who are not Christians are Pagans, except at Ceram, where there are many Mahomedans ; and at New Guinea, the Ki Islands and Copang, where there are a few.

43. Have they ministers of religion ? They have ; they call them teachers, and they are chiefly natives of Amboyna.

44. Are they well educated ? Not highly ; they read and write very well ; almost their only book is the Bible.

45. Do they speak the Malayan language ? They learn the Malayan language at school, and read and write it.

46. By Mr. Elwin—Is not their language a dialect of the Malayan ? It is ; but it varies very much from the pure language.

47. By Dr. Lang—Do they also use the Dutch language ? No, they speak more English than Dutch ; the Dutch language is too difficult for them to learn.

Previous to the year 1827, when a Lieutenant in the Dutch navy was despatched, in command of an expedition, to search for a suitable place for a Settlement on the coast of New Guinea, some of these islands to the northward of New Holland had not been visited by the Dutch, or indeed by Europeans of any nation, for seventy years. In such circumstances, and after so long a seclusion from the civilized world, it was interesting and affecting in the extreme for the Dutchman to find in certain of the islands a Christian population still retaining their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and their attachment to the simple form of worship which had been taught them by zealous Missionaries of his nation, of whose labours all other remembrance had been lost, a century or two before. Mr. Earl had a servant with him, one of these native Christians from the island of Kissa, who was also examined by the Committee, as follows :—

MONDAY, 9th October 1843.

Shadrach Philippus, called in and examined :—

1. You are the servant of Mr. Earl ? I am.

2. Of what place are you a native ? I am a native of the island of Kissa.

3. You have been to Port Essington with your master? I have.

4. What do you think of the country at Port Essington? I like it very well.

5. Do you think if a town like Sydney were formed there, your countrymen would go in any numbers to get employment? Yes, they would all want to go.

6. Do you think they would be willing to work for wages? Yes.

7. What wages do you think they would expect, supposing they were to be engaged in growing sugar and rice? About six or seven rupees a-month.

8. By the Chairman—That is, supposing that the master were to find food? Yes.

9. What food do the people chiefly live upon? Rice.

10. Do you think they would come in any number if they were to get ten rupees a-month? A great many would be very glad to come. Sometimes there are very bad times at Kissa.

11. What occasions the bad times? There is no rain; the people cannot live; there is no water.

12. You are a Christian? Yes.

13. Have you churches at Kissa? Yes.

14. Have you clergymen? Yes.

15. Did you go to school? Yes.

16. What were you taught? To read the Bible and Testament.

17. Did you learn to write? Yes.

18. Is the country at Port Essington like the country at Kissa? No.

19. What is the difference—is Kissa a high volcanic mountain? It is.

20. Have you been to any other island? Yes, I have been to Java and Timor.

21. By Dr. Lang—What do the people employ themselves in to get a living? Some go to sea.

22. Where to? To Timor.

23. Do they employ themselves in cultivating the land—in growing anything—have they any rice? Yes, they grow paddy.

24. Are any of the people employed as mechanics? Yes, there are carpenters and blacksmiths.

25. What other things are done by the people? They make gardens—they go fishing, and make nets and fishing-lines.

Being struck with the name of this witness, I found on inquiry, that he had two brothers whose names were Mesbach and Abednego, and that it was the general practice among the Christian natives to give Scripture names to their children, as was customary in

the times of the Puritans in England. I could not help thinking at the moment, that in the event of an Academical Institution being established in some suitable locality in the Colony, as in Cooksland, for the education of young men for the Christian ministry, it would be extremely interesting to get a number of such young men brought round to the Colony, to be instructed in the English language, and in the arts and sciences of civilization, while they were receiving a theological education to fit them for the Christian ministry, and to be sent forth thereafter as Missionaries to the multitude of the isles to the northward. Shadrach Philip was a remarkably interesting and intelligent young man, somewhat intermediate in physiognomy between a South Sea Islander and a Malay.

There were two routes recommended to the Committee for an Expedition to Port Essington—the one from Moreton Bay, by the Darling Downs and the Coast Range as far as the Gulf of Carpentaria, around which the Expedition would have to make the best of its way to Port Essington; and the other from Fort Bourke, on the Darling River—about 600 miles to the north-westward of Sydney, and nearly equi-distant from Portland, at the south-western extremity of Port Phillip, and from Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. The latter of these routes was strongly recommended by Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, Knight, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, for the following reasons, as stated in his evidence before the Committee:—

In the first place, it is the point most in advance in the desired direction. Secondly, It is accessible now even to wheel carriages, during either dry or wet seasons, without the necessity for crossing any river until a party arrives at the Darling. Thirdly, It is probable that the basin of the Darling is contracted thereabouts by some high or firm land in the west, from the extent of the reedy flats subject to inundation above that point, of which I saw no indications lower down the river; up the river, on the contrary, as high even as where I explored it in 1831, the flats, subject to inundation, are still more extensive than those of the Macquarie, and are traversed by channels difficult to cross. All these impediments may be avoided at Fort Bourke, which is also

n the best direction. The river Darling there flows in one channel, and the probability of finding higher land at no great distance beyond it at that point seems to be still greater, from the occurrence of granite in that locality, and still more from the deflection of such streams as the Macquarie and the Bogan, flowing from remote basins in the south-east, and here assuming a south-westerly course. For all these reasons, I should expect, if there is high land in the interior at all, to find it by proceeding north-westward from Fort Bourke.

7. Will you state to the Committee your reasons for preferring Fort Bourke to Moreton Bay as a starting point? Fort Bourke is the most direct line to Port Essington from our southern metropolis—Sydney. It is, as already stated, the most accessible point, and also the nearest to Port Essington, to which there is a continuous carriage route from Sydney; we have also already a populous settlement at Bathurst, and one at Wellington Valley. These places are in the general line which would thus pass through the heart of the Colony, where the roads are good; and the Pass of Victoria, across the Blue Mountains, would thus lead to the City of Victoria at Port Essington. The direction of the rivers being parallel, would render this a well watered route even in dry seasons. But the proposed onward direction thence could only be taken after a wet season, as an exploratory route, because water is only plentiful then, in the clay-holes on the plains. When once known, however, the permanent waters could be followed, and journeys made accordingly; but in very dry seasons, and in total ignorance of the country, it would scarcely be safe for a traveller to venture into the region beyond the Darling for fear of the want of water; now, however, the rain has fallen generally on the interior plains, and water may be found in the clay-holes for some months at least to come. But for these great advantages it would be better, upon the whole, I think, to start from Moreton Bay, and depend upon the coast range for water, as that range must trend with the coast to the north-westward.

In regard to the probable advantages to be derived from the establishment of an overland communication with Port Essington, Sir Thomas Mitchell states his opinion as follows:—

Do you, from a consideration of the subject, anticipate many advantages from opening such a line of communication as that proposed to Port Essington? I do. Tropical Australia is wholly unknown within the coast lines; the proposed undertaking would be creditable to the Colony; and, both as to the immediate results to be expected and the objects to be ultimately accomplished thereby, this seems to me the most important expedition that ever could be undertaken in Australia. The season happens to

be more favourable, from the rains, than any we have had for many years past. The direction of the line of route proposed would be available not to our Colony only, but to that also of South Australia, from whence a route along the right bank of the Darling could join at Fort Bourke. From Melbourne, a similar route to cross the Murray about the junction of the Murrumbidgee would also fall in with the line in a nearly straight direction. New Zealand is in prolongation of the same route through Sydney; and, from whatever colonies may be established at and beyond Moreton Bay to the northward, the roads connecting them also with this proposed general route would be short and direct externally. In thus opening a way through Australia from her infant colonies towards the peopled parts of the earth, the most flattering prospects seem to depend on the success of such a journey; greater certainty and celerity in our communications with the mother-country; more immediate access to India and China; cheap labour, perhaps, brought within reach, this depending on an easy route being discovered. In short, what may intervene along a line of such importance to the colonists ought, in my opinion, to be ascertained at almost any risk. The journey is long, but it tends directly towards England, yet at the same time towards India and China. The line would bring this Colony, where population is scarce, into contact with places where it is most abundant; and a vast extension of the human race, to the southward of the equator, is among the probable results.

The Committee agreed to recommend the Expedition generally, as also the route by Fort Bourke as the preferable one, for the reasons stated in the following passage extracted from their Report:—

Taking the first point of destination aimed at by such an expedition to be the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the two positions for its departure presented to the Committee were, either the located country north-west of Moreton Bay, or Fort Bourke, on the River Darling. The latter (Fort Bourke) is situate about six hundred miles north-west of Sydney, and is in a line leading directly from Port Jackson to the Coburg Peninsula. From Fort Bourke to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria the absolute distance does not exceed nine hundred miles. The peculiar character of the country, so far as seen from this position in a northerly direction—the circumstances of the Dividing Coast Range being at this point completely crossed—and the probability afforded of meeting, in the direction to be pursued, with some of the tributaries of the Darling flowing from the north-west, by which a supply of water would be ensured to the expedition until reaching the streams assuming an opposite and northerly direction—all appear to the Committee to be circumstances which justify them in recommending Fort Bourke as the point of de-

pasture. The fact of there being already there a strong stockade, with abundance of pasture in its neighbourhood, necessary for recruiting the cattle and horses before starting, presents an additional reason for this preference over Moreton Bay. In reference to the latter, the Committee would observe, that whilst the absolute distance between the located districts of Moreton Bay and the Gulf of Carpentaria is but little less than that between the latter and Fort Bourke, there appear many formidable difficulties likely to attend the commencement of the journey if undertaken from Moreton Bay. The Dividing Coast Range would have to be surmounted, occasioning to the cattle and horses, at starting, a degree of fatigue and exhaustion which would probably much impair their strength and usefulness in the subsequent part of the journey. A longer westerly course would also necessarily have to be pursued than if proceeding from Fort Bourke; and the Committee, therefore, do not hesitate to express their opinion that Fort Bourke should be made the starting point of the expedition. They are also convinced that the present season is peculiarly favourable for such an undertaking. The copious rains which have fallen within the last three years will doubtless obviate what has been the cause of so many difficulties and embarrassments in former undertakings of a similar description, namely, those arising from want of water. The prevalence of this necessary element will also be the means of furnishing sufficient pasturage for the cattle and horses accompanying the party.

This Report and the recommendation it contained were cordially agreed to by the Council, and the following Address was accordingly voted by that body to His Excellency, Sir George Gipps, on the 1st November 1843:—

We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in Council assembled, respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to direct the necessary steps to be taken to carry into effect the recommendation of the Select Committee of this Council, appointed to consider the practicability of establishing an overland communication from the settled parts of New South Wales to Port Essington; and further pray, that Your Excellency will be pleased to direct a sum not exceeding (£1000) one thousand pounds, to be inserted in the Estimates of Expenditure for the year 1844, to meet the expenses consequent upon carrying into effect the abovementioned recommendation.

The whole Colony took an extraordinary interest in

the proposed expedition; and although it was a time of unprecedented depression, a large subscription, principally in the shape of draught-cattle and provisions for the expedition, would have been contributed at once by the Colony, in aid of the sum of £1000, which it was universally expected the Government would grant at once on the recommendation of the Council, if any addition to that amount had been required. Disappointment was therefore deep and general throughout the Colony when, on the 10th November, the following Message from His Excellency the Governor was received and read:—

MESSAGE from HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR to the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, in reply to an Address from the Council, praying that a sum not exceeding £1000, may be placed on the Estimates for 1844, to meet the expenses of an Exploring Expedition to Port Essington.

GENTLEMEN,—I quite agree with the Council in thinking it desirable that an attempt should be made to reach Port Essington by an overland route; but I fear I should (and especially under present circumstances) be hardly justified in undertaking, without the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, an expedition of so hazardous and expensive a nature. In order, however, to obtain Her Majesty's pleasure on the subject, I will lose no time in transmitting a copy of your Address to the principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

GEORGE GIPPS.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY, 9th Nov. 1843.

In the meantime Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, a native of Prussia, who, as I have already observed, had arrived in the colony in the year 1842, in the hope of attaching himself as a naturalist to any expedition of discovery to be undertaken in the interior, and who looked forward to the proposed expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of the colony, as being likely to realize his hopes, so far from being cast down or disappointed at this result of the recommendation of the Council, was induced to plan a private expedition, under his own guidance, for the accomplishment of the object proposed—not, however, by Sir Thomas Mit-

chell's proposed route, but by Moreton Bay, and the western flank of the Coast Range. The expedition, as finally arranged, consisted of Dr. Leichhardt; Mr. Pemberton Hodgson, a Squatter on the Darling Downs; Messrs. Calvert and Roper, two young gentlemen of respectable connexions, then recently arrived in the colony from England; Mr. Gilbert, a naturalist, in the employment of Mr. Gould, the author of the interesting and elegant work entitled "*Birds of Australia*," who merely joined the expedition for the purpose of adding to his collection; Murphy, a young man from Ireland, having a hunch-back, who had been a fellow-passenger with Dr. Leichhardt from England; Phillips, a prisoner of the Crown, expecting a free pardon in the event of success; and two Aboriginal natives from Hunter's River. Dr. Leichhardt's own pecuniary resources were by no means ample, but he had expended them all in making the necessary preparations for the expedition; and as the colony generally regarded the enterprise as a hopeless undertaking, the assistance he received from the colonial public was extremely limited.

The expedition left Sydney in the month of August, and Moreton Bay in September, 1844; and in the course of the first month, in passing through an extensive and impracticable tract of Bricklow or Acacia scrub, the whole of the flour was lost, and Mr. Hodgson, the Darling Downs Squatter, was induced to return to the colony. A few weeks thereafter, a report was brought to the Downs, by certain black natives, that the whole party had been attacked and murdered by a tribe to the northward. This report was almost universally credited, and every person was disposed at the time to give himself extraordinary credit for having actually foreseen and predicted the catastrophe. It occasioned the composition and publication of the following beautiful lines by Robert Lynd, Esq., Barrack-master, Sydney, the intimate friend of Dr. Leichhardt, to whom the interesting letters written by that gentleman while at Moreton Bay, from which I have made such copious extracts in a former chapter of this

work, were addressed. In explanation of this affecting tribute of sincere friendship it may be proper to state that some doubt having been subsequently thrown upon the report of the black natives, Mr. Pemberton Hodgson,*

* This gentleman has recently been in England, and has published one of the trashiest works on the colony that has ever issued from the metropolitan press. It is intended to glorify the Squatters, his own order, at the expense of everybody else in the colony. Hear how he writes of the city of Sydney and its inhabitants: "Farewell Sydney! thy climate is thy sole recommendation; thy want of water, uncertainty of seasons, thy barren wastes and sandy deserts, thy bar-harbours and coral-reefs are but natural enemies. Thou hast a far more grievous one in thyself; thy hospitality only to deceive, thy avarice, thy cunning and plausible delight in deceiving the unsuspecting, thy evident recklessness of being considered a rogue, are but the true characteristics of thy inhabitants. What is the answer to these charges? I will repeat one I actually heard from a wealthy and arrogant grandee: 'I came out here with the sole desire of accumulating riches; I left all for one grand object; and, as long as I am gaining my end, I pay little regard to the means of attaining it.' This is Sydney!—this is the land colonized by men imbued with English feelings, and educated with English ideas of justice and right! This is the land to which the honourable merchant of England consigns his costly cargoes, and, did he know the full amount of practised villany, he would blush at the idea of such a connexion.

"But the wily man of business assumes a double face; to keep up his credit at home he sacrifices all, indiscriminately, out here to his deceit, and, by prompt and punctual returns, convinces the English merchant that he must be an exception to the general rule, and is, accordingly, invested with the means of repeating his former line of conduct on an improved scale.

"To say there are not many honourable men out in Australia would be false indeed. Amidst every desert some oasis is found, and we turn with pleasure to regale ourselves with a view of this rare prospect. SQUATTERS, WHO ARE GENERALLY ALLOWED TO BE THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE COLONY—the unfortunate victims of merchant, tradesmen, and labourer—*have the still small voice of conscience always at hand to advise them, and seldom do they err. The knowledge of their being a superior caste, their pride being to act after that knowledge, though their aim is the same, are the general principles on which they take their stand.*"†

Such is the style in which this ridiculous coxcomb, whose

† Reminiscences of Australia, with Hints on the Squatter's Life. By Christopher Pemberton Hodgson. London, 1846.

the Darling Downs Squatter, collected about £150 in Sydney, to supply the necessary means for the equipment of a party to trace the expedition to the spot where the murder was alleged to have taken place; and it was to this party that the lines were addressed.

LINES ADDRESSED TO THE PARTY PROCEEDING ON THE TRACK OF
DR. LEICHHARDT. BY R. LYND, ESQ.

YE who prepare with pilgrim feet
Your long and doubtful path to wend,
If—whitening on the waste—ye meet
The relics of my murder'd friend—
His bones with rev'rence ye shall bear
To where some mountain streamlet flows;
There, by its mossy bank, prepare
The pillow of his long repose.

It shall be by a stream, whose tides
Are drunk by birds of every wing;
Where ev'ry lovelier flower abides
The earliest wak'ning touch of spring!
O meet that he—(who so carest
All-beauteous Nature's varied charms)—
That he—her martyr'd son—should rest
Within his mother's fondest arms!

When ye have made his narrow bed,
And laid the good man's ashes there,
Ye shall kneel down around the dead,
And wait upon your God in prayer.

*hands, by his own confession, are still red and reeking with the blood of his murdered fellow-men, dares to talk of his betters. For what other interpretation can be given of the following admission? "In conclusion, though it is almost useless to advert to by-gone days and actions, yet it is a painful reflection that so many hundreds of these poor creatures (the Aborigines) have been sacrificed. I regret that I have been their enemy, and for three years a bitter one. Yet the safety of our lives, and the preservation of our flocks and herds, demanded forcible measures. Fancy thirty-five white men killed in one district alone! of course we had revenge !!!"**

So much for the aristocracy of Australia—the men who know they are a superior caste, and who always listen to the still small voice of conscience, and take their stand upon principles!

* Ibid. p. 252.

What though no reverend man be near—
 No anthem pour its solemn breath—
 No holy walls invest his bier
 With all the hallow'd pomp of death!

Yet humble minds shall find the grace,
 Devoutly bow'd upon the sod,
 To call that blessing round the place
 Which consecrates the soil to God.
 And ye the wilderness shall tell
 How—faithful to the hopes of men—
 The Mighty Power he served so well,
 Shall breathe upon his bones again!

When ye your gracious task have done,
 Heap not the rock above his dust!
 The Angel of the Lord alone
 Shall guard the ashes of the just!
 But ye shall heed, with pious care,
 The mem'ry of that spot to keep;
 And note the marks that guide me where
 My virtuous friend is laid to sleep!

For oh, bethink—in other times,
 (And be those happier times at hand,)
 When science, like the smile of God—
 Comes bright'ning o'er that weary land—
 How will her pilgrims hail the power,
 Beneath the drooping myall's gloom,
 To sit at eve, and mourn an hour,
 And pluck a leaf on Leichhardt's tomb!

SYDNEY BARRACKS, }
July 2nd, 1845. }

Mr. Hodgson accordingly formed his party, and proceeded a considerable distance to the northward on Dr. Leichhardt's track. And although the result of this expedition, of which the other members do not appear to have had the requisite confidence in the judgment and experience of their leader, was by no means satisfactory to the colony, it ascertained that Dr. Leichhardt and his party had at least passed safely the spot where they were all reported to have been murdered by the blacks. Still, however, as no tidings were heard of the

party during the whole of the year 1845, the general impression was that they had either been murdered by the black natives a few degrees farther to the northward, or had perished of hunger or thirst in the interior of Australia. Mr. Lynd's verses were, in the meantime, set to music by Mr. Nathan, a talented composer in Sydney, and Colonial Sentimentalism, which had left the traveller and his party to be provisioned and accoutred as they might for their perilous expedition, nevertheless shed many a tear over LEICHHARDT'S GRAVE.

At length, on the 25th of March, 1846, the city of Sydney was electrified at the sudden apparition of Dr. Leichhardt and his party, (with the single exception of Mr. Gilbert, the naturalist, who had unfortunately been speared by the natives at the south-eastern head of the Gulf of Carpentaria,) direct from Port Essington; having accomplished the grand object of their expedition, and thereby achieved, with the scantiest means and with consummate ability, an exploit scarcely paralleled in the annals of Geographical Discovery. To traverse with so small a party and so inadequate an equipment a country hitherto untrodden by civilized man—to traverse that country during fifteen months successively, for a distance of nearly 3000 miles—a country, moreover, inhabited by fierce barbarians, and subject alternately to distressing droughts and terrific inundations—the heroism of the enterprise can only be equalled by its brilliant success. Dr. Leichhardt has virtually added a vast and valuable province to the British Empire, and has greatly extended the domain of civilized man. The real benefits and advantages of his discoveries can scarcely as yet be either felt or appreciated; but inasmuch as they have opened up a boundless extent of pastoral country to the northward and westward, they will be felt and appreciated in the first instance by the colonists of Cooksland. The following is the modest and unassuming account which Dr. Leichhardt gave of his expedition, in the abstract of

his journal published in the Sydney Newspapers on his return by sea from Port Essington.

REPORT OF THE EXPEDITION OF L. LEICHHARDT, ESQ., FROM
MORETON BAY TO PORT ESSINGTON.

I left Sydney the 13th August, 1844, in the *Sovereign*, Captain Cape, the Hunter's River Steam Navigation Company having given to me and to my party a free passage to Moreton Bay. After recruiting my horses at Moreton Bay, I went up to Darling Downs, and stayed for a month at Mr. Campbell's station, waiting for my provisions, which the kind people of Moreton Bay had volunteered to send up to the Downs with drays. Finding that my horses were not sufficient to move all the provisions, and considering that bullocks would give at the same time means to move our provisions, and form a good stock of provisions themselves, I bought three bullocks from Major North, at Laidley Plains, and five from Mr. Hughes, at Darling Downs. My party consisted originally of six persons—Mr. Roper, Mr. James Calvert, John Murphy, Phillips, and the black-fellow Harry Brown, of Newcastle. In Moreton Bay, a negro, Caleb, and a black of Bathurst, Charley, joined me. At the Downs, Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Gilbert increased the number of my party to ten persons. The two latter added two bullocks to those I had, and Messrs. Stephens and Campbell made us a present of four young steers and a bullock. Mr. Isaacks gave a fat bullock. I started, therefore, from Jimba, the farthest station of Darling Downs to the westward, on the 1st October, 1844, with 16 head of cattle, 17 horses, and four kangaroo dogs. Mr. Hodgson and Caleb returned with two horses, from Kent's Lagoon, about 70 miles from Jimba. We travelled at first through the system of waters of the Condamine, which goes much farther to the northward than is laid down in the map, as I left it about 26°44' of latitude. I passed several creeks which evidently joined the Condamine in latitude 26°26', and 26°16', and 26°10', in a course north-west from Jimba; and I have soon to mention that I came on westerly waters again, in latitude 25°19', and 25°13', which, in all probability, go to the westward and southward to join the Condamine, or belong to the great basin of the Darling.

After having passed the great plains of the Condamine, between Coxen's station, Jimba, and Russell's station, we entered into a country which was alternately covered with fine open forest land, well grassed and fit for cattle and horse breeding, and with long stretches of almost impassable bricklow scrub, so called from the bricklow, (a species of acacia) being one of its principal components. Open myall scrub was frequent, particularly along the Condamine. Though the bricklow scrubs were fre-



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quently of great length and breadth, I do not think that they ever form uninterrupted lines of more than twenty or thirty miles, so that they always allow to be skirted. The frequency of these scrubs, however, renders the establishment of stations unadvisable, as they not only allow a secure retreat to hostile black fellows, but to wild cattle.

Following a narrow passage through a very extensive bricklow scrub, over a flat country, I entered into a new system of waters, which at first turned to the north-north-west and north-west; but about 70 miles lower down, in latitude 25°36', turned to the north-east. I came on it in latitude 26°4'; I called the principal river "The Dawson." Fine flats extend along its banks, and open ridges, with sound ground, are some miles off the river. Lower down, however, ranges appear covered with scrub, and I suppose that the river, where it turns to the north-east, enters into a rather mountainous country, to work its way into the flats of the east coast. A large creek joins it in latitude 25°34', which comes from the north-west, and I called it Palm-tree Creek, as fine corypha palms grew along its banks. It is accompanied by rich flats and fine ridges, and has a plentiful supply of water, in detached holes, as the Upper Dawson had. But these rich flats, which would delight the eye of the cattle breeders, are limited towards the ranges by thick bricklow scrub. This scrub covers the hills to the southward, between the creek and a long range, and is interrupted by plains, almost entirely grown over with vervain, which made me call them "Vervain Plains," whenever I met with them, even should this plant be less abundant.

In following up the creek, I came again on a flat table land, and on waters which turned to the south-west. Should the creek I met in lat. 25°29', and which I called "Robinson's Creek," belong to the Condamine, the shed of waters here would be one of the most curious which ever have been observed. The shallow channels which form the heads of Palm-tree Creek (an easterly water) are scarcely a-quarter of a-mile distant from the broad deep sandy bed of Robinson's Creek, the latter turning to the south-west, the former collecting towards the east. Several sedgey swamps and lagoons, covered with water-fowl, are found at the left bank of Robinson's Creek.

This creek comes from a hilly country, which, more to the north-west, rises into ranges of considerable elevation, giving rise to a great number of water-courses, creeks, and gullies, all collecting into Robinson's Creek. The whole country is openly timbered—the ridges at the upper part of it in part covered with silver-leaved ironbark, well adapted for sheep. Fine flats extend along its banks, where I first met it in lat. 25°28'. I passed the principal range of Robinson's Creek in lat. 25°19', and came again to waters which turned to the west and south-west. In pursuing a north-west course, I entered into a knot of mountains, from which the waters flowed in almost every direction: to the east,

north-east, north, west, and south. Only long and tedious reconnoitres enabled me to find a passage through this intricate country. And even these would have been perhaps unsuccessful, if Providence had not thrown by an accident some light on our dark and difficult path. In following a north-easterly creek to its head, I found an easy mountain-pass, and came on the heads of a creek going to the northward. These are in lat. 25°5'. In lat. 24°54', the creek, which I called "Zamia Creek," from fine arborescent zamias (or cycas) growing on its flats, turns to the north-east. Its deep channel gets very shallow as it enters a flat country of very great extent, almost unbounded by any rise towards the north-east. The creek is accompanied by small flats and thick scrub. But the flats extend more and more, and the scrub recedes, as it approaches the large flat country, which appears openly timbered, and well grassed in the proper season. When we went along it, the 4th-9th December 1844, the grass was all burnt, and the country looked bleak, with some few exceptions of old burnings, which were covered with luxuriant grass. The creek has very little water.

I turned round a range at the left of Zamia Creek; its two most conspicuous mountains we had seen a long time ago—the one, a sharp peak, covered with scrub, I called "Aldis's Peak," the other, dome-shaped, I called "Mount Nicholson." They are excellent landmarks, and must be seen for a great distance from the north-east. Their latitude is about 24°52'30". The range to which they belong I called "Expedition Range."

Travelling along its east side, I crossed several creeks, the largest of which I called "Expedition Creek." Palm-trees were again frequent. Another creek, which, from abundance of erythrina trees, I called Erythrina Creek, was amply supplied with fine reedy water-holes. The country is openly timbered and well grassed; but I fear that all these creeks get very dry, as they leave the mountains.

I crossed the range; the passage is very difficult. The stock of the range is basaltic; the spurs and subordinate ranges are sandstone. The basaltic part is openly timbered; arborescent zamias very frequent; the sandstone spurs are covered with scrub and underwood, peculiar to this description of country. From the north-west side of this range a view opens over a large valley, bounded to the west and north-west by distant ranges, which I called the Christmas Ranges. It is almost entirely filled with scrub, the extent of which was well calculated to try a man's courage. Some few plains were visible, and isolated hills rose in different directions out of this sea of scrub. The water-courses, very different from those of the other side of the range, were dry near the range, but contained fine water-holes within the scrub. [Lat. 24°45'—lat. 24°26'.] I followed a water-course through the scrub in a north-north-east direction, and came to open box flats and openly timbered basaltic ridges, which, how-

ever, soon changed again with scrub. The creek led me to a small river, lined with fine casuarinas and flooded gum. I called it "Comet River," as I saw the fine comet (of the 29th December 1844) in travelling along its banks. It comes from downs and plains to the westward, and is accompanied by a narrow strip of open forest land, hemmed in by scrub, which lower down takes entire possession of its banks, until it joins a fine river (the Mackenzie) well supplied with water, its water-holes forming broad stretches of 2—3—10 miles, full of excellent and various fishes, and of fresh-water muscles, which appear to form the principal food of the natives. The Comet River is badly supplied with water. From lat. 24·25 to almost 23·41, its bed was entirely dry, small water-holes supplied by late thunder-storms assisting us to pass over this thirsty country. As it approaches the Mackenzie the supply of water increases, and from lat. 23·41—23·34, fine numerous water-holes are found in the bed of the creek. The valley of the scrubs, between Expedition and Christmas Ranges and the Comet River, is not available for any pastoral purpose. The sportsman alone would be remunerated by rich sport in the detached patches of scrub surrounded by vervain and sow-thistle plains, which teem with kangaroos.

The Mackenzie comes from the westward. I should have followed it up to its head, if the scrub which lined its banks had not made it advisable to follow it down, in order to come to a more open country. The heads of the Mackenzie are, however, a very interesting point, as they will lead to a water-shed between eastern and western waters. It is the only easterly water I passed, with the exception of Comet River, the heads of which remained unknown.

The Mackenzie winds through a peculiar country. Its valley is deep and narrow : on its left side a high level country extends, near the river with belts of scrub, farther off with plains and open forest—generally box forest—but these plains and open forest are again lined by scrub. From time to time sandstone crops out in the deep cut creeks which join the river, or in the banks of the river itself. In one of these sections several layers of fine coal were found, identical with the formation of the Newcastle coal. Rounded pieces of coal had been found in the bed of the river, where we first came to it, evidently showing that the coal formation extends high up the river. The windings of the Mackenzie are numerous and large : it was difficult to make out its general course : lower down, however, it becomes more regular ; it seems to enter the flats of the east, similar to those I mentioned at Zamia Creek ; its course is north-east, according to the black fellows, who are very numerous, and behaved very friendly to us.

I do not think that that part of the Mackenzie we passed is well adapted for the establishment of cattle or sheep stations. The scrub is too frequent and too thick ; but the water, the variety

and richness of the grasses, the fine plains and open box forest, are very inviting. I have reason to believe that the scrub is less frequent down the river.

At lat. 23°21'30", I left the Mackenzie, and travelled again in a north-west direction. In an extent of 25 miles we passed long stretches of thick scrub, of fine open narrow-leaved iron-bark forest, of box flats and of plains; the latter of a rich black soil, strewed over with pieces of fossil wood, changed into ironstone and silex. Some of the finest country, with rich grass and herbs, plenty of water, open forest and plain, with honey, sweet as that of Hymettus, with plenty of game; the air fragrant with wild thyme and marjoram—lined with dense bricklow scrub, extending more than 25 miles, interrupted only by creeks, which appear all to belong to the system of the Mackenzie. A fine range of peaks was seen from almost the only hill of this country, in a north-west direction. As I approached it, other lower ranges appeared, and two fine creeks, lined with casuarini, with reedy water-holes, running to the south-west, lay in our course. These creeks are accompanied by fine open box and narrow-leaved ironbark flats, the latter, however, generally with rotten ground. I followed one of the creeks up to its head, and going up a sand-stone spur, I came to a fine table-land, where plains, with rich black soil, covered with luxuriant grass and herbs, were separated by narrow strips of sandy iron-bark forest. The plains enlarged as I advanced, and a series of magnificent cones and ranges rose from this level. I called this range "Peak Range," and gave to the most prominent peaks separate names. They are composed ofomite, whilst the ridges to the east and south-east were of sandstone; and the ridges, varying the plains to the westward, of basaltæ. The latitude of Peak Range is 22°56'54", its longitude about 148°19'. The plains and downs extend far to the westward, where another range of peaks was observed. There was good water in a sandstone creek running to the south-west, with rocky water-holes; but the plains were badly watered. The young grass, late burnings and smoke rising to the eastward of the range, showed evidently that this fine country was well inhabited. Black-fellows were even seen by some of the party. A closer examination would detect more water, and this procured, no country would be better adapted for pastoral purposes than the plains and downs of Peak Range, and the whole country to the eastward which I have seen.

Numerous creeks go down to the eastward, either coming from basaltic ridges, and winding through small plains of black soil, or from sandstone ridges passing along between them, until they enter the flat country to the east and north-east, which I had twice occasion to mention. Many of these creeks are well provided with water-holes, though not near the range, but farther down. The water-holes are generally rocky basins.

I travelled through this country during January and February

1845 ; there was no continuous rain, but only occasional thunder-showers, which frequently filled the empty water-holes, to give us a stepping-stone over a dry country.

I travelled from lat. 22°43' to lat. 22°23' in a northerly course, over sandstone ranges (spurs of the table land) between which creeks came down, frequently accompanied by grassy plains or well grassed open forest. The ranges were so rocky, and their slopes so steep, that I determined to follow one of the easterly creeks down : I called this creek "Hughes' Creek." Between the ranges it was well provided with fine water-holes ; in the flat country which it entered, after leaving the sandstone ranges, it was almost entirely waterless. At the upper part of this creek the drooping tea-tree was first observed. We found it afterwards at every creek and every river ; it was generally the companion of water, and its drooping foliage gave a rich shade.

The flat country which we had entered was covered with narrow leaved ironbark, with box and a new species of gum, which we called poplar gum, as its leaf and its foliage resembles very much in form and verdure the trembling poplar of Europe. The ground of the ironbark forest is generally rotten ; that of the box is sound, as the box grows on a stiff soil, which is also the case with the poplar gum. Patches of scrub appeared as we came lower down the creek—some puddled water-holes of the scrub gave us the necessary supply of water.

The flat country continued, the scrub increased, and formed belts of various breadth along the creek ; fine open undulating country, interrupted, however, by bands of scrub, extend to the north and north-west.

This creek brought us to a river with a broad sandy bed and high banks, lined by fine flooded gum-trees and casuarinas. It was entirely dry ; but in a rushy swamp, parallel to its banks, fine water was found. I named this river the "Isaacks." From lat. 22°20' to lat. 21°35' we travelled along the Isaacks in a north-westerly course, following it up to its head.

The bed of the river was dry, with some few exceptions, until we came to the Sandstone Range, near its head ; black fellows' wells were frequent, and the presence of fine water-holes in a more favourable season was indicated by a wreath of reeds surrounding dry basins. The water-holes which supplied us with water were parallel to the river, or in little creeks adjoining it, the rain-water being collected in puddled basins ; these water-holes were generally at the outside of scrubs.

In lat. 22°11' a range extends at the left side of the river parallel to it : I named it "Coxen's Peak and Range." It forms an excellent landmark. The river breaks from two ranges, striking from north-west to south-east, and its heads are at the north side of the most northern one, in an undulating country. Flats one and two miles broad accompany the river ; a belt of scrub, sometimes very narrow, separates them from a more un-

dulating or hilly openly timbered country farther off the river. Silver-leaved ironbark is the prevailing timber of the hills and ridges. Between the two ranges of its upper course plains extend, which, well provided with water, belong to the finest country we have met, and are highly adapted for any pastoral purposes, particularly for the breeding of cattle and horses.

At the end of February, and at the commencement of March, we had for several days a drizzling rain.

From the heads of the Isaacks we came to small creeks collecting into a common water-course, going at first to the northward, afterwards to the westward, and even to south-west. I called this "Suttor's Creek." Open ironbark slopes, small plains, render it very fit for cattle stations; but as the lower part of this creek, as well as the river which it joins, and which I called "the Suttor," got very scrubby, it may be rather considered as a continuation of the Isaacks, from which the access to it is very easy.

The river Suttor, which I followed down from latitude 21°21'36" to 20°37'13", has in its upper course fine reedy water-holes. The flats which accompany its banks are openly timbered, but they change with thick scrubs and rocky country. In lat. 21°39'58", it splits into ana-branches, enters a thick scrub, and becomes deficient in water.

At lat. 21°37'31", however, there is a most magnificent sheet of water, like a little lake in its bed. Between 21°33' and 32' it entirely disappears as a distinct water-course, and forms chains of water-holes, which were, however, well supplied with water. The country opens at about 21°20'—a big creek joining the Suttor from the south-east. Primitive rocks appear amongst sandstone rock, and a limestone hill was observed in lat. 21°6'. A river, as large as the Suttor, which I called the Cape, joins from the westward. It turns in lat. 20°44' round a fine isolated mountain, which I named Mount Macconnel, and joins a running stream, with a bed one mile broad, which comes from the north-west, and turns to the eastward. I made my first camp in the bed of this river in lat. 20°37'13", and called it "the Burdekin," as an acknowledgment of the liberal support which I received from Mrs. Burdekin in forming my expedition.

Fine flats accompany the Suttor in its lower course: the grasses are very various and dense: there is particularly one grass, the oaten grass of the Isaacks, which grows to a considerable height, and the stem of which is very juicy and sweet. But besides this, there are at least twenty different grasses, with various herbs which cattle and horses were fond to feed upon. Water is abundant, the water-holes are often very long and broad, and covered with ducks. It is even running five miles above its junction with the Burdekin. The pandanus was first observed here; and in its bed, round old fire-places of black-fellows, we found the empty shell of the fruit of *cycas*, the tree

of which we first observed at the Upper Burdekin. A new species of grevillea was equally found, and the poplar-gum was frequent. The drooping tea-tree, which grows to a great size in its bed, yields an excellent timber. The bloodwood and ironbark are generally of a good size for building huts. There was also no want of timber at the Isaacks, nor at the Burdekin.

I travelled along the Burdekin from lat. 20°37'13 to lat. 18°32'37, through 2°4'36 of latitude, in a north-west by west course, and I had to leave it, probably still about fifty to sixty miles distant from its head, as it turned too much to the northward and eastward.

Almost the whole extent of its banks is available for pasturing purposes.

The character of the country is various; fine ironbark and box-flats, open ridges, high ranges off the river, sometimes approaching the river, and rendering the passage very difficult. Those who follow me will find easier roads off the river. The river supplied with abundance of water by living-springs and brooks coming from a basaltic table-land. Creeks provided with water-holes, with broad sandy beds lined with casuarinas, are numerous. At lat. 20°8'26, at 20°0'36, at 19°49'91, at 19°13, at 18°59, at 18°52, large creeks and rivers join the Burdekin.

From the Suttor up to lat. 19°58'11, the whole country is composed of granite and sienitic rock; pegmatite, and hornblende rock are frequent. At 19°58, I first observed basalt. At 19°54, a fine limestone, with many fossil corals crops out; but higher up the river, basaltic ridges are prevailing, which are several times interrupted by quartz porphyry (lat. 19°18'6; 19°13.) Both rocks seem to have broken through talkschiste, sandstone, and conglomerate.

In latitude 18°48'9, we entered into a large valley with numerous lagoons, at the east side of which the river came down, whilst a reedy brook swept along the basaltic ridges, which bounded it to the southward. The lagoons were covered by *Nymphæa* (the lotus), the seed vessels and rhizomæ of which formed the principal food of numerous black-fellows. I called this country the "Valley of Lagoons," or the "Country of the Lotophagians." After ascending the basaltic ridges, which surrounded the valley to the south, the west and north-west, we found ourselves on a level country, openly timbered with narrow-leaved ironbark or box, the forest changing, with fine plains, sometimes many miles long and several miles broad. Often a small brook was running in them. To a very conspicuous mountain on the basaltic table-land I gave the name of "Mount Lang."

A big creek sweeps along the east and north-east side of this plateau, and separates it from primitive formations. The frequency of big fantastic hills of the white ant, which I had not seen before of such a size, induced me to call it "Big Ant-hill

Creek." At latitude 18-16-37, running brooks come down along the plains of the table-land from Mount Lang, and several other isolated hills, and join Big Ant-hill Creek. In leaving the Burdekin, I followed up this creek, passed in a north-north-west direction over a level country, and came in latitude 18-22-2 on waters which flowed to the east and north-east; they either belong to the Burdekin or to a more northerly system. I called the first creek I came to "Separation Creek," as it separated the basaltic from the primitive formations, as Big Ant-hill Creek had done. Several other creeks joined it lower down. Fine flats extend along its banks. The whole table-land is beautifully grassed, of great extent, well provided with water along the creeks, the brooks, and the river, but in the dry season waterless in its centre. This country is a pattern for cattle and sheep stations, the elevation of it (at least 2000 to 2800 feet above the level of the sea) renders it cool and fit for sheep; the ground is sound—the forest is very open. It is in the centre of the York Peninsula, equally distant from the east coast, and from the Gulf of Carpentaria, to which, as I shall presently show, a system of rivers, well provided with water, forms an easy communication, with the exception of some mountainous passages, which later travellers will change with easier roads farther off the rivers.

It would be tedious to mention the numerous mountain ranges along the Burdekin, to some of which I gave names, leaving many of them nameless.

About fourteen miles from Separation Creek, in a north-north-west direction, we came on gullies and creeks, which collected into a water-course going to the westward. In latitude 17-58 we found a fine reedy water-hole, below which another bigger creek joined from the northward. The bed became very broad, in some places more than half a-mile, with several channels, which, however, collected again in passing through mountain gorges. I called this river "The Lynd," in acknowledgment of the infinite kindness which this gentleman has bestowed upon me. I followed it down from 17-58 to 16-30, where it joins a river coming from the east.

The Lynd works its way in a north-westerly course, through a very mountainous country, from 17-58 to 17-9-17. There is, however, plenty of grass and water to feed any number of cattle or horses which might be driven down to the gulf. Several big running creeks come in from the westward. They will probably allow a more immediate communication with the head of the gulf. From 17-9-17 fine flats, well grassed, accompany the river; they are timbered with box, apple-gum, (a new species of gum with the foliage of the apple-tree of Darling Downs, and with the black butt of the Moreton Bay ash) bloodwood, and occasionally stringybark. We passed several fine lagoons on the flats along its lower course. It had a running stream from latitude 17-25.

The rock of the upper Lynd is primitive; granite, sienite, peg-

matite, hornblende ; lower down, talkschiste, broken by porphyry, appear, and before the river enters the flats, it is accompanied by sandstone ranges, which, in some places, form perpendicular walls on both sides of the broad sandy bed.

It is interesting to see how we descend from the table-land to the gulf from the same series of rocks through which we had ascended from the east coast along the Burdekin, only in an inverted order.

Many new trees made their appearance on the ranges, as well as along the river, and within its bed. I shall mention a gum-tree, with showy orange blossoms, very big seed-vessels two inches long, one inch broad, with a short foliaceous bark, the upper branches remaining white and naked ; we called it tea-tree gum, as the foliaceous nature of its bark reminded us of the tea-tree. This tree was not observed at the east side of the gulf, but re-appeared very extensively at the west side up to Port Essington, forming the even forest round Victoria. Several other forest trees, intermediate between the blood-wood and the gum-tree, were observed. All these trees are, however, of no use to the Settler or Squatter, as the fibre of their wood is too interwoven to allow splitting ; nor is their bark easily stript. The ironbark disappears where the Lynd enters into the flats, and it is wanting all round the gulf. At the neck of the Coburg Peninsula is a tree which resembles the ironbark ; but it is rare, and differs essentially from it. The stringy-bark, the blood-wood, and the box, are the only forest trees which accompanied us to the end of our journey, always re-appearing where the soil favoured their growth.

From latitude 16°30' to 15°51', we travelled along a fine river with a running stream, now narrow and shallow, now swelling into fine long sheets of water. I called it the "Mitchell," in honour of Sir Thomas Mitchell. A belt of open forest accompanies its banks ; farther off, the country opens more and more, and changes into a series of plains, extending parallel to the river ; they are limited by a forest of small acacia trees, and several others, which I have not yet been able to determine. Lagoons became larger and larger, and more frequent, as we travelled down the river ; the country improved, the plains grew bigger, the forest land richer, receding further from the river.

In a large water-hole of the Lynd we found a dead sawfish (*pristis*) ; in those of the Mitchell, alligators were seen by my black-fellows.

I expected that the Lynd, and afterwards the Mitchell, would turn to the westward, and join the sea in latitudes where the Van Dieman, the Staaten, the Nassau, were indicated ; but the Mitchell passed the latitude of the Nassau, and I could now only expect to see it join the sea at the Waterplats, to which its general course inclined. I had followed these rivers, more out of scientific and geographical interest, than for the benefit of my expe-

dition : for I was compelled to go back in order to head the gulf. If my provisions had been sufficient, I should have followed the Mitchell down to its mouth ; but afraid that I should be short of provisions, I left the river, and went to the westward.

Plains, open forest land, lagoons, full of fish and covered with the broad leaves of showy blossoms of *nymphaea*, gave a great variety to this fine country, well adapted for the breeding of cattle, and particularly horses, though deficient of good timber.

Here, at one of the lagoons, in latitude 15°55' not very far from a large creek, which I consider the upper part of the Nassau, Mr. Gilbert was killed by black-fellows, who had sneaked upon us immediately after nightfall, just when the greatest part of the party had retired to their couches. They wounded Mr. Roper and Mr. Calvert severely ; but Mr. Gilbert was the only one who received a deadly wound—a spear entering into the chest between the neck and the clavicle, at the moment when he was stooping to get out of his tent. At the first discharge of our guns the black-fellows ran away. The next morning they were waiting for one of their number, who, it seems, had been severely wounded. They left the country, and we did not see any more of them.

I passed the Staaten in latitude 16°27'26"; it is a river with a broad sandy bed, easily to be crossed at low tide ; its water is briny. Between the Staaten and the Van Dieman, which I crossed at latitude 17°0'13", I passed four creeks, all provided with water-holes and fine water. Between the Staaten and Gilbert's Lagoon I found three creeks with water ; the country along both rivers is excellent. Between the Van Dieman and the Carou (latitude 17°28'11") I passed a small river, which had no name, and which I called the "Gilbert," in commemoration of the fate of my unfortunate companion. Its latitude was about 17°5', it contained numerous water-holes of fresh water ; but was not running. A fine chain of lagoons is between the Van Dieman and the Gilbert ; seven creeks with water between the Gilbert and the Carou. Towards the latter river, which had no water in its bed, but chains of lagoons parallel to its banks, the creeks were lined by a dense tea-tree scrub, half a-mile or more broad. The tea-tree is of a peculiar species, which always indicates the neighbourhood of salt water. In latitude 17°49', we came on a salt water river, which I called the "Yappar,"—this word being frequently used by friendly black-fellows, whom we met at one of the fine lagoons alongside the river. Between the Yappar and the Carou there is a chain of shallow lagoons of fresh water.

The whole country from Gilbert's Lagoons to the Yappar, extending along the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, is highly adapted for pastoral pursuits. Cattle and horses would thrive exceedingly well ; sheep would not, neither the climate, the temperature, nor the nature of the soil is favourable for them

Large plains, limited by narrow belts of open forest land, extensive box flats and tea-tree flats openly timbered, changing with a more undulating country, fine grassy meadows along frequent chains of lagoons, and shady forest land along the rivers, render this country pleasing to the eye of the traveller, and inviting to the Squatter. After what I have learnt of the cultivation of rice and cotton, I can add that long stretches of country would be adapted for both.

The country is well inhabited by black-fellows; we had three times intercourse with them—the first time they were hostile (when Gilbert was killed); the second time they were very noisy, but withdrew at the approach of a horseman, and were not seen again; the third time (at the Yappar) they were very friendly, and it was evident they had seen either Malays or white men before us.

I called the whole country between the Mitchell and the Van Dieman the “Nonda Country,” from a fine shady tree with a yellow eatable fruit, which we enjoyed very much. It grew in the stretches of open forest land, with the blood-wood and the pandanus I had seen at first at the Upper Lynd. It disappeared at the Van Dieman, and we never met it again.

Between the Yappar, longitude 140°45' approx., and the Nicholson, (longitude 138°55') which latter river I crossed in lat. 17°57', I passed three big salt-water rivers, one fine running creek, which I called Beames' Brook, and several chains of fresh water lagoons. The country west of the Yappar is undulating and hilly forest land, frequently scrubby, for an extent of about twenty miles. Here it opens in immense plains, some of them three miles broad, ten miles long, and longer. The plains stretch along the banks of the rivers, and are separated by creeks, lined by thickets of a small tree, which we called raspberry-jam-tree, from the scent of its wood, which reminded us of raspberry jam. These creeks had fine water-holes, but they were all for the greater part dry. We found our water principally in grassy lagoons, surrounded by polygonum; but the country is in general badly watered, though the number of black-fellows, the smoke of whose fires we saw all around us in crossing the plains, showed that a nearer acquaintance of the country would probably lead to the discovery of a sufficient supply of water.

Beames' Brook, which I crossed in lat. 17°57', was about twenty yards broad where I first met it. A rich verdant brush of pandanus and the palm-tree, and several other trees, lined it. Its water was fresh, but affected by the tide. At the crossing-place (about eight miles lower down) it was three yards broad—very deep in some places, shallow in others—a full flowing little stream with magnificent oak-trees and palms, and pandanus and flooded gum along its banks. We never had met, nor did we meet, another brook like it again.

About three miles farther we crossed the “Nicholson,” called

so in honour of Dr. William A. Nicholson, of Bristol, who had enabled me to come to Australia to explore it, and to study its nature. Its bed is 100 yards broad, sandy, with magnificent drooping leaves, a shallow running stream, flood-marks 15-18 high, a chain of fine lotus lagoons parallel to its banks, which are accompanied by fine box flats at its left.

The salt water rivers which I had crossed, as well as those which I have still to mention, are very broad (150, 200, 300 yards); but they were easily fordable after one or two days' travelling upwards, the fords generally being formed by rocky bars crossing the rivers. These fords were generally indicated by fisheries of the natives, sticks having been stuck close to each other to form a sort of hedge, preventing the fish from returning with the tide, or stone walls having been formed by heaping loose stones on each other. At the head of the salt water, the bed of these rivers usually enlarged, and frequently it was formed by two or three deep chasms, separated by high bergs. One channel either contained a running stream of fresh water, lined by pandanus and the drooping tea-tree, or it had just ceased running, a chain of fine water-holes still remaining.

From the Nicholson to the Roper (lat. 14°50', long. 135°10') we travelled through a country, in part miserably scrubby, in part covered by a dense tea-tree forest and by stringy-bark forest, which was sometimes open, but generally scrubby, and rendered difficult for passage by a dense underwood. There was particularly a leguminous shrub, from two, three, or five feet high, with a winged stem and branches, leafless, with yellow blossoms (like bossied scolopendrium), which composed the scrub and the underwood of this country. Several species of shrubby acaciæ, and several grevilleas were very frequent. The vegetation preserves the same character all along the west side of the gulf, across the Arnhem Peninsula, and up to Port Essington, wherever the soil is similar. Along large rivers the country opened, and fine box flats and open forest land refreshed the eye, tired by the endless scrub. It is very probable that farther from the sea-coast, and higher up the rivers, before they enter into the mountains, a fine favourable country exists. The country is in general well watered; numerous creeks provided with good water-holes, and several rivers, with running streams at the head of the salt water, go in a north-easterly direction, which changes into an east-north-east and easterly one, to the sea.

Between the Nicholson and the Marlow (lat. 17°), named after Captain Marlow, of the Royal Engineers, for his kind contribution to our expedition, we met numerous creeks, which contained either fresh or slightly brackish water. The first (lat. 17°39') I called Moonlight Creek, as I had found it on a reconnoitre during a moonlight night; another, about sixteen miles north 30° west, I called "Smith's Creek;" a third I met in lat. 17°25'; a fourth about eleven miles north-north-west. The whole country was covered with an almost uninterrupted tea-tree scrub.

Between the Marlow (longitude 138°25 approx.) and the Van Alphen (latitude 16°30, longitude 137°18), I passed six creeks, containing a greater or smaller supply of fresh or brackish water; some of the very isolated water-holes were very small, and often very brackish; seven creeks, ten to twenty yards broad, were salt, the water filling their whole bed; they were easily fordable, as the bed was composed of a firm sand, or of rock. The three most southern ones probably join into a large river, the mangrove line of which I saw in the distance. I called the most southern one Turner's Creek, in acknowledgment of the liberal support I received from Cooper Turner, Esq. In latitude 16°52, about eighteen miles south-east from the Van Alphen, the country opens, and fine plains extend along a big creek, though badly supplied with water. In the bed of this creek I found a piece of granite, and near another, about eight miles west-north-west of this, a large piece of porphyry, in an old black-fellow's camp. This piece had served to crush the seed vessels of the pandanus, which grows abundantly all along these creeks. These pebbles show that the table land or the division of the waters, is not very distant, as I found the primitive rocks almost invariably connected with at least the ascent to a table-land.

Between the Van Alphen and the Abel Tasman (latitude 16°29) I passed a big creek (latitude 16°35), and a small river, well supplied with water, which I called "The Calvert," in commemoration of the good services of my trusty companion, Mr. James Calvert. Sandstone rock cropt frequently out in the open stringy-bark forest, which covers the greater part of the intervening country. Sandstone ranges were seen to the west and north-west. The lower part of the Abel Tasman forms a broad sheet of salt water; the banks are steep, lined with mangrove and several trees peculiar to the change of fresh and salt water, as I feel convinced that during the rainy season the freshes go far out into the sea. The flats along the river are well grassed, openly timbered with blood-wood, stringy-bark, and white gum. In latitude 16°29, the water is fresh running strong over a rocky bed: the stream is about three feet deep, fifteen to twenty yards broad, the whole bed from bank to bank 300 yards.

Between the Abel Tasman and the Seven Emu River (longitude 137°5, latitude 16°12), I crossed seven creeks, containing pools of water, some of them brackish; four had a fine supply of it. The whole country is a succession of tea-tree and cypress-pine thickets and scrubs. A fine open well grassed country extends along the Seven Emu River, which received its name from numerous flocks of emus, seven of which were hunted down, as we travelled eight miles up its banks. We met soon the fresh water stream, which we crossed at a black-fellow's well and a fishery.

Between the Seven Emu River and the Robinson (latitude 16°8, longitude 136°43), several small waterless creeks were met, after

having passed the fine country near the river and some miserable scrub. A fine path of the natives led me to a large but waterless creek, the banks of which were covered with cypress-pine and cycas groves: (the cycas is a tree of the aspect of the palm, 30 to 50 feet high and higher, frequently with two or three heads; the leaves like those of *zamia spiralis* in the neighbourhood of Sydney; the nuts arranged in two parallel lines along an intermediate flat fleshy fruit stalk.) The foot-path went from cycas-grove to cycas-grove; big wells, 6 to 8 feet deep, were dug in a sandy soil, which rested on a layer of stiff clay. All these wells were however dry, though the whole country looked fresh and verdant. About five miles from this creek we came to a large salt-water river, equally accompanied by cycas-groves. A fine foot-path brought us to a large well under the bank of the river. An alligator was tracked at this well, and porpoises were seen playing in the broad salt water of the river. Two miles below the spot, where we come to the river, it entered into a still bigger one coming from the westward; the first became narrow five miles higher up, where the salt water ceased and fresh water pools commenced. I called this "Cycas Creek," and the more northerly river "the Robinson," as a slight sign of gratitude towards J. P. Robinson, Esq., for his kind support of our expedition.

The fruit of the cycas forms the principal food of the natives during September. They cut it in slices of the size and thickness of a shilling, spread these slices on the ground and dry them, soak them for several days in water, and pack them after this closely up in sheets of tea-tree-bark. Here it undergoes a process of fermentation, the deleterious properties of the fruit are destroyed, and a mealy substance with a musty flavour remains, which the black-fellows very probably form into cakes, which they bake. The fruit of the pandanus forms another apparently very-much-liked eatable of the natives. We found heaps of them in their camps, and soaking in the water contained in large koolimans made of stringy-bark. I am inclined to believe that they are able to obtain a fermented liquor, by soaking the seed-vessel of the pandanus, and by washing the sweet mealy substance out, which is contained in the lower part of the seed-vessel between its fibres.

Between the Robinson and the Macarthur, (lat. 16°5'26", long. 136°10') named after Messrs. William and James Macarthur, in acknowledgment of their kind support of my expedition, I crossed a fine creek, with a chain of deep pools and two waterless creeks. The whole country is a stringy-bark forest, mixed with melaleuca gum, with cypress pine thickets, and tea-tree scrub. About five miles from the creek we had an interview with a tribe of black-fellows, who gave evident signs that they knew the gun and the knife. They were very friendly, and we exchanged some presents with them. They were circumcised, as all the black-

fellows of the gulf we had seen. The head of a crocodile was seen at Cyas Creek ; the carcase of another I found at the upper crossing-place of the Robinson ; tracks were observed by Charley at the water-holes of the creek, between the Robinson and the Macarthur.

The country along the Macarthur is well grassed, and openly timbered for a half to one and a half mile off the river. Sandstone ranges commence at lat. 16°5'26". Two miles higher up it is fordable, a running stream of fresh water enters the broad salt water river ; its bed gets broad and sandy, with the vegetation of the Lynd, and fine plains extend along its banks to the westward.

Between the Macarthur and the Red Kangaroo River, I passed three creeks, well provided with water. The most southern is about ten miles north-west from the crossing-place of the Macarthur ; the second, a pandanus creek, is only one and a half miles from the former, and joins it lower down ; the third, about nine miles north-north-west farther, I called the *Sterculia* Creek, as the *Sterculia heterophylla* grows very frequently along its lower course. The Red Kangaroo River (latitude 15°35') has a very broad sandy bed, two channels, separated by a broad high berg ; the northern channel has a fine supply of water in numerous water-holes, the connecting stream of which had just ceased running. A fine lagoon extends along its southern bank, about half a mile from the river. The country near the crossing-place of the Macarthur is intersected by rocky sandstone ranges. Towards the first creek tea-tree forest and box flats render the travelling easy. Sandstone ranges were seen to the left. From the second Creek to Red Kangaroo River the country is a miserable scrubby stringy-bark forest.

From the Red Kangaroo River to Limmenbight River, (latitude 15°5', longitude 135°30',) we passed through a continuous low dense scrub. In four creeks intersecting our course we found either fresh or brackish water. The sandstone range which I just mentioned continued to our left. In this scrub, twenty-nine miles long, almost all the small trees had been thrown down by a violent wind ; they lay from south-east to north-west. At Port Essington I learnt from Captain Macarthur that a hurricane had past over Victoria in 1833, and I saw the trees which it had uprooted ; they lay in the same direction as those of Limmenbight, and I feel assured that the same hurricane has past over the west coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

In latitude 15°14' I came to the sea coast ; I went in a north-west course to the northern extremity of the Sandstone Range, indicated in the map of Arrowsmith. We saw the sea, an island (Maria ?) and a large river coming from the westward ; white sandy plains were seen along its course.

I had to find my way through an intricate country, intersected by salt-water creeks. Fresh water was generally found in

creeks coming from sandstone ranges ; their heads were frequently formed by fern swamps, (a species of *blechnum* was very frequent.) From latitude 15°31' I crossed the salt-water river by a rocky bar.

Ten miles farther to the north-west I met a second branch of the same river, with a fine broad bed, several channels, fresh-water in detached pools, which just had ceased running, lined with pandanus and drooping tea-trees. Both branches are of equal size, and probably come from an equal distance. Captain Wickham has explored the lower part of the river, and probably one of its branches. I do not know whether Captain Wickham has given a name to these rivers, I called the lower the Limnenbight River, and its northern branch "The Wickham," in honour of the successful explorer of this coast, and of the north-west coast of Australia.

Between the Wickham and the Roper (latitude 14°50', longitude 135°10') the country is badly watered. Though we passed nine creeks, two of which were very considerable, we found water only in the pools of two, after having followed them down for a considerable distance. The country is very remarkable, particularly after leaving the Wickham. Steep sandstone ranges parallel to each other, with a direction from south-west to north-east, intersected our course ; they were separated by tea-tree flats ; but at their foot generally a richer vegetation of pandanus, of the leguminous iron-bark, and of blood-wood existed, which made me mistake them for the verdant belt of trees accompanying rivers and big creeks. From the top of these ranges still more ranges appeared, one above the other, till their dim outlines were lost in the misty blue of the horizon. My horses and cattle got very foot-sore, and I was compelled to go to the northward in order to get out of those ranges. After having passed over tea-tree flats, I entered again into scrubby stringy-bark forest, with patches of cypress-pine thickets ; the creek with water was in latitude 15°10'. Towards the Roper, sandstone ranges re-appeared ; fine box-tree flats with dry water-courses stretch from south by west to north by east. But they are limited towards the river by a narrow belt of thick scrub. Plains with groves or thickets of the raspberry-jam-tree, and overgrown with *salicornia*, indicate the neighbourhood of salt water. A fine open country, undulating or hilly, extends along the Roper, and fine lagoons, some two or three miles long, covered with ducks and wild geese, are parallel to the river, a quarter to two miles off.

I followed the Roper from lat. 14°50' to 14°40', long. 134°18'; but I came again on its upper course, and I believe that the creeks which I passed from lat. 14°40' to 13°44' (long. 133°45' apprx.) belonged to the system of that river, and I equally believe that the corresponding waters to the north-west belong to the system of the South Alligator, on the main branch (?) of which river I

came much later in descending from the table-land into the valleys to the westward. I observed the tide to lat. 14°44', where the bed of the river assumes the character of the Lynd and many rivers mentioned before. As far as the tide extends, the river is from 150 to 200 yards broad, deep, with steep banks, lined with dense hedges of pandanus, of the drooping tea-tree, and several other brush trees, amongst which a jasmine, which was in blossom, and rendered the air fragrant with the perfume of its flowers. Vines hung from tree to tree, and a fine leguminous climber (*Kennydia*?) with green flowers, big pods, big brown seeds, grew in great abundance. These seeds, crushed and boiled, formed a tolerably satisfying food; it appeared that the black-fellows did crush it on stones, which were in all the camps along the river. This strip of brush was, however, very narrow, and cannot be compared with the river-brushes of Moreton Bay, which I have not met in an equal extent during the whole of my expedition. A big creek came in from the southward in latitude 14°48', and a branch as big as the main branch came from the northward.

The country along the river is openly timbered, and particularly its upper part, which opens into fine plains, would be well adapted for pastoral purposes. There are, however, many rocky ranges, bluff isolated hills and mountains, which frequently approach the river, and render the travelling along its banks difficult. The rock which composes these ranges is a fritted sandstone and indurated clay, regularly and horizontally stratified. In latitude 14°39' the plains commence, the river splits into a great number of channels, almost all with a running streamlet, every one lined with pandanus and tea-tree. I suppose that the main branch turns off to the south-west and west-south west, as even the branch which I followed turns considerably to the south-west.

The banks of the river are inhabited by numerous black fellows. We had friendly intercourse with them at its lower part; at the plains, Charley and Brown, my black fellows, asserted to have seen four of them coming up to our camp at nightfall, in order to attack us; they ran, however, away, when they saw that we were prepared to receive them, even without the discharge of a gun.

After leaving this branch of the Roper, as its source is in latitude 14°40', longitude 134°16', a living spring coming out of a gentle rise beyond the plains; I passed in a north-west direction through a country in which ridges, flats, and sandstone ranges frequently changed. In latitude 14°33', I came to a big creek, with a good water-hole; in 14°24', basalt first made its appearance at the foot of sandstone ranges. A creek, which I met here, was waterless; but in one of the gulleys which go down to it, a small rocky basin of water fed by a spring was found. Both creeks go down to the south-east and join the Roper. Having

passed these ranges, I came to a large fine valley, the south-east and east side of which was limited by basaltic ridges. A water-course, turning to the south-west, brought me to a fine running brook, lined with groves of pandanus. The basaltic ridges made me believe that I was at the head of westerly waters; but the pandanus brook turned to the southward, and as I met in latitude 14.16 a large creek with a sandy bed, about ten yards broad, filled by a rapid stream running to the southward, which is joined by the Pandanus Brook, I feel assured that I was again at the Roper, the main branch of which had probably made a large sweep at first to the westward and afterwards to the northward. I followed the big creek up its course to latitude 14.2. The country is in part very fine, but it becomes more and more mountainous, and the flats along its banks become more and more limited.

Leaving the creek, and ascending the sandstone ranges, I came to a table land, level, with sandy soil, cypress pine and stringy-bark forest, frequently scrubby. Water courses and gullies went down to the south-east and south-west, both were collected by large creeks joining the Roper.

I met one of these creeks running to the south-east, with grassy lawns along its banks, in latitude 13.57. Another, with the direction to the south-west in latitude 13.50. My course changed between north-west and north-north-west. In latitude 13.41 approx., I came on the heads of the first westerly water, and found the first water-hole in its bed in latitude 13.38, longitude 133.30.

Open, well grassed stone ridges accompany this creek, which I followed for several days. But as it turned too far to the south-west, I left it again, following my old course to the north-west. After having crossed a very rocky creek, well provided with water, came again to a table-land of the same description as the former but sandstone rock cropt out more frequently and formed into rocky ranges, cut by deep gullies. From one of these ranges I had a view over the country before me, and I almost despaired of ever getting through it. Sandstone ridges behind sandstone ridges, lifting their white rocky crests over the forest, deep gullies, with perpendicular walls, rocky creeks, with boulders loosely heaped in their beds, frequently interrupted by precipices over which the waters must form magnificent waterfalls during the rainy season.

I worked my way down to one of these creeks, and followed it along its bed, until a precipice between two mountain walls compelled me to leave it. Following a grassy lawn up to the northward, I came to a water-shed, and into another grassy lawn with a small creek, longitude 133.6, which brought me to the deep valley of a river coming from the east and going to the westward. It was difficult to get down the steep slopes; but once down, we found a fine provision of water in big holes, the water running through the loose pebbles which fill the bed.

Having crossed the river, and following a northerly or north-north-westerly course, I passed again over the table-land, from which numerous creeks, one, two, and three miles distant from each other, went down to the westward. They generally take their origin from rocky ridges rising out of the level land; frequently tea-tree swamps are at the head of these creeks; they soon become very rocky on both sides for half, two, and three miles, and open again on fine grassy flats, well provided with water, which is found in deep puddle-holes of the creeks. Still further down, they become rocky again, deep gulleys join them from both sides, higher or lower precipices interrupt their course; and, at last, arrived at the border of the table-land, a fine broad valley is deep below them, and their waters rush over a perpendicular wall 500 or 800 feet high, down into a rocky basin, and into the channel, in which they flow to the westward to join the main branch of the South Alligator River.

The table-land is covered by forests of stringy-bark, of melaleuca-gum, and banksia. Several grassy flats, with a white gum, (similar to the flooded gum,) were observed. The drooping tea-tree grows in the swamps I mentioned, to a great size; the grass is excellent in some of these swamps; but a sedge is prevailing, which, it appeared to me, was not so much liked by our cattle and horses, as the deep green colour of the young plant after late burnings made me first believe.

It was very difficult to find a passage down the table-land; but I succeeded, though the descent was very steep even for our horses and pack bullocks. This descent was about latitude 13°22', longitude 132°50'.

I dare say that my passage over the table-land would have been much simplified by following the main branch of the Roper to its head, to pass over to Snowdrops Creek, and follow it down, notwithstanding its southing; for Snowdrops Creek, in all probability, joins the Flying Fox River, which I consider the main head of the South Alligator. This route would be practicable for cattle and horses, which might be driven over to the west side; I could certainly not recommend my line of march. It is very remarkable that pegmatite cropped out at the foot of the slope where we made our descent, whilst at the top, as well as all over the table-land, when we met the rock, it was found to be a fritted sandstone.

The South Alligator River is joined by a great number of creeks, which, as far as we could see, came down over a precipice, and must of course form as many waterfalls during the rainy season.

I followed the river to latitude 12°51'. At the upper part of the valley the river passes between a high range and an isolated peak. At the foot of the former, I observed pegmatite again. Farther down, big lagoons, with an outlet into the river, are very frequent. Farther off the river, iron sandstone ridges, covered

with a scrubby forest, in which a small fan-leaved palm-tree became more and more frequent, extend between small creeks, which go down to the river.

The lagoons were surrounded by magnificent tea-trees, and this outlet was lined by pandanus, myriads of ducks and wild geese covered the water; the whole country had been burnt, and the late thunder-showers had produced the most luxuriant grass. We experienced the first thunder-shower on the 14th November, at the table-land, after having been without rain from March, 1845, with the exception of a shower in June, and a drizzling rain on the 1st September.

In latitude 12°51, large plains accompanied the river; either grassy, with a rich loose black soil, or entirely bare with a stiff clayey soil. On plains of the latter kind we first met a salt-water creek lined with mangroves. The river bank was covered with a thick vine brush, gigantic tea-trees, palms, and bamboo.

In latitude 12°49, I came apparently to a river, with fresh water, lined with pandanus, palm-trees, &c., which joined the South Alligator. I was compelled to go up its course, in order to head it. After about three miles travelling, we found that it was the outlet of a remarkable swamp, which, according to the statement of friendly black-fellows, extended far to the eastward. The swamp was, with few exceptions, dry, its bed a stiff clay, cracked by the heat of the sun; out of its bed small islands of pandanus and of tea-tree rose, either round, like a tuft of green grass, or long and irregular; fortunately we were able to cross it. The black fellows gave us to understand that a big lake of water is at its head. In the rainy season a passage would be impossible, and the traveller would have to keep out far to the north-east from the upper part of the South Alligator, or on the table-land, not only to avoid this big water, but to avoid being caught by the East Alligator, which, as I shall mention, compelled me to go far to the south again in order to cross it.

In an almost northerly course, I passed over ironstone ridges, covered with a rather scrubby forest, in which the small fan-leaved palm-tree became so abundant, that it formed almost for itself the forest. A small tree, which we called the gooseberry-tree, as the taste of its ripe fruit resembled that of the gooseberry, was very frequent; we had found it all along the outside of the gulf. We crossed numerous creeks—the first to the south-east probably joined the swamp; the others to the westward. We met with water in latitude 12°38; 12°26'41; 12°21'49. Here I met with granite again, which crompt out in the bed of a fine creek, with an abundant supply of water. At about 12°17, I crossed a running brook, bubbling and murmuring like the mountain brooks of Europe. It was probably the outlet of a tea-tree swamp; its bed was rocky. A fine path of the natives passed along its banks.

My northerly course brought me to an immense plain, 6 to 7 miles broad, and endless to the eye westward and eastward. That

part which was nearest to the forest land, (which ended every where in pandanus groves and tea-tree hollows,) was composed of black soil, and richly grassed. Nearer to the salt-water creeks, which we met, and which compelled us to return to the forest, the soil was a stiff clay, covered with a stiff dry grass. The salt-water creeks were lined by mangroves. We found water in a swamp along the forest. It was covered with geese and ducks. About four miles farther to the east-north-east, friendly black-fellows showed us a number of deep wells, (6 to 7 feet deep,) which were dug through the sand to a layer of clay, on which the water collected. These wells were observed all along those big plains, which we passed or crossed afterwards. It appears that the black-fellows either dig them, because open water is wanting, or because the water in swamps and lagoons is very bad, or because they want water in the immediate neighbourhood of those places, where they find abundant food during a certain season. I believe that the latter is generally the case, though the two other ones may occasionally compel them to procure water by digging.

At latitude 12° 8', longitude 132° 40', I came on the East Alligator, and I saw myself compelled to go to the southward, as far as latitude 12° 23', in a south-south-easterly course, to cross the river. Large plains accompany it all along its left bank; ridges and forest land are beyond the plains, and along the outskirts of the forest land the wells of the natives are found. At the right side we observed conical and strange-shaped hills, either isolated or connected in short ranges; and when we came to the higher part of the river, rocky sandstone ranges, rising abruptly out of the level of the plain, appeared to surround the valley of the river. At the foot of these rocky ranges fine lagoons were found, which were so crowded with wild geese, that Brown, one of my black-fellows, shot six at one shot. The plains were full of melon holes, and dead fish shells, limnæus and paludina, were covering the ground.

The valley of the Upper East Alligator, which I rather should call Goose River (for nowhere we observed so many geese—and what is called alligator is no alligator, but a crocodile), is one of the most romantic spots I have seen in my wanderings. A broad valley, level, with the most luxuriant verdure, abrupt hills and ranges rising everywhere along its east and west sides, and closing it apparently at its southern extremity; lagoons, forming fine sheets of water, scattered over it; a creek, though with salt water, winding through it.

After having crossed the river, I went to the northward, passed a plain about eight miles long, from which I saw bluff mountain heads to the north-east, which seemed to indicate the valley of a northerly river, entered the forest land, passed several creeks, running to the eastward (one at 12° 11', with water), and followed a well-trodden foot-path of the natives, which led me through rocky sandstone ridges, over numerous creeks running to the

westward, to the broad sandy bed of a river, with fine pools of water, which I consider to be the fresh-water branch of the East Alligator, coming from the east. Not very far from the river, we came to a fine lagoon, beyond which a large plain extended; the lat. of this lagoon (Bilge's Lagoon) was 12° 6'.

I passed the plain, and entered the forest land. Just where the latter commenced, on a swampy ground between sandstone rocks, the first tracks of buffaloes were observed.

The forest covers an undulating country, in which the ironstone frequently crops out. A fine chain of lagoons and a tea-tree swamp, changing into a pandanus creek, were well supplied with water. Both went to the eastward. At the latter, buffalo tracks were seen again. (Lat. 11° 56').

We travelled in a northerly course again, through forest land, and crossed a small plain, in which a mangrove creek turned to the westward, and further on, a tea-tree swamp equally to the west. On a fine plain we met a tribe of black fellows (Nywall's tribe), who guided us to a good-sized lagoon. This plain extended far to the northward and westward; two isolated peaks, and two low ranges, were seen from it to the east and south-east. We crossed and skirted these plains in a north-north-west course, and entered the forest land, which was undulating with low ironstone ridges, from which numerous creeks went down to Van Dieman's Gulf, along which we travelled. Black-fellows had guided us two days, but they left us at the neck of the Coburg Peninsula, which we entered on a fine foot path; keeping a little too much to the northward on the narrow neck, we came to easterly waters, and to Montmorris Bay. I turned, however, again to the westward, to come to westerly waters. Creeks are numerous on both sides, and fresh water was frequent after the late thunder-showers. I made my latitude at 11° 32' on a westerly water, and at 11° 26' on an easterly water (Baki Baki's Creek). Keeping a little too much to the northward from the latter Creek, I came to Raffles' Bay, from which black-fellows, familiar with the settlement, guided us round Port Essington to Victoria, which I entered at about five o'clock, the 17th December 1845.

Ridges composed of the clayey ironstone (a ferruginous psammitic), which I had found so extensively in traveling round the gulf, form the water-shed in the neck of the Coburg Peninsula, and become more numerous and higher within the Peninsula itself. Between Montmorris Bay and Raffles' Bay I passed several high ridges, and a fine running creek, about 15 miles from the head of the harbour. The ridges are rather densely wooded. The stringy-bark, the melaleuca gum, the leguminous ironbark, are the prevailing timber. Along the creeks and in the swamps, the tea-tree grows to a stately size, and yields an excellent timber. The stringy-bark is useful for its bark and its wood. The cypress pine is abundant on the neck of the Peninsula. The cabbage palm, with long pinnatifid leaves, grows

along some of the creeks, and even on the ridges, and forms groves, and almost a forest at Montjejalk, between Raffles' Bay and the harbour. The small fan-leaved palm is very abundant; the little gooseberry tree becomes a low shrub.

The tracks of buffaloes became more and more numerous as we advanced on the neck of the Peninsula. They formed at last a regular broad path along the sea-coast, sometimes skirting the mangrove swamps, in which all the western and eastern creeks end, sometimes entering into the swamp itself. Farther on, other paths turned off into the forest, or along creeks, and formed a meshwork, which rendered it impossible for me to keep to the principal black-fellow's footpath, leading from Nywall's lagoon to the settlement. We saw frequently buffaloes as we went on, and they were very numerous at Baki Baki's Creek, which joins Montmorris Bay. In riding along it, I saw three and four at the time hurrying out of the deep holes of water within the creek, to which they come, in the heat of the day, to cool themselves. About seven miles from Nywall's lagoon, we succeeded in shooting a fine beast, of about three years' old, which fortunate accident enabled me to bring my last pack-bullock to the settlement. The buffaloes are equally abundant between Raffles' Bay and the harbour, and the whole country, particularly round Baki Baki's Bay, and, on the neck, is as closely covered with buffalo tracks, as a well stocked cattle-run of New South Wales could be.

I entered Victoria with one pack-bullock, and with eight horses. We had killed fifteen of our bullocks, and had dried their meat. Along the east coast, and at the east side of the gulf, they kept in a very good condition, and yielded a fine supply of fat meat, but, at the west side, long stages, bad grass, and several waterless camps, rendered them very weak, and compelled me to kill them; the heaviest bullock of the lot scarcely yielding a fortnight's supply of meat. My horses did exceedingly well; they got several times foot-sore in passing a very rocky country, but they soon recovered on soft flats. At the Lurdekin one broke its thigh-bone; we killed it, and dried its meat. At the Lynd another died suddenly, probably by the gripes. At the Roper, four, the finest of the whole lot, were drowned, the banks being very steep and boggy, and the river very deep. The loss of these was very heavy. I had to throw away the greatest part of my botanical and geological collections, and my plans of returning overland, cutting off the angles of my route, and keeping more to the westward, were frustrated.

When our flour, our tea, our salt, our sugar, was gone, we lived on dried beef and water; and we lived well on it, as long as the beef was good; but, at the latter part of the journey, the beef got bad, as it was very poor, and of knocked-up beasts, and as the moist sea breeze made it very liable to taint. Fortunately the game became abundant round the gulf, and we caught, for instance, in August, fifteen, and in September, sixteen emus, every one of which provided meat for a day.

At the head of the South Alligator, black-fellows came up to us, and we exchanged presents with them ; they gave me the red ochre, which they seemed to consider as the best of their run. At the commencement of the plain, a large tribe of black-fellows came to our camp, and one of them pointed to the north-west, when we asked where he got his tomahawk and a piece of shawl from. They knew Pitche Nelumbo (Van Dieman's Gulf). At the big Pandanus swamp, another tribe of black-fellows guided us over the swamp, and behaved very kind. They used the word *peri good* (very good), no good, *Mankittera* (Malay). At the mouth of the East Alligator, Eooanberry's and Minorelli's tribe, were equally hospitable and kind. We met another tribe in travelling up the river, and at its head. The latter were, however, noisy, boisterous, and inclined to theft. At the north bank of the river we met Bilge's tribe, Bilge being the most important personage amongst them. At Nywall's lagoon, Nywall treated us with *imberbi* (the root of a species of *convolvulus*), and two black-fellows guided us two days farther. At Montmorris Bay we met Baki Baki; and at Raffles' Bay, Bill White's tribe; and Bill White himself guided us into the settlement.

At Eooanberry's tribe we first heard the question, "what's your name," and the name for white men, "*Balanda*." At Nywall's tribe they asked for flour, bread, rice, tobacco; and one of them had even a pipe. It is difficult to express our joy, when English words were heard again, and when every sign which the black-fellows made, proved that we were near the end of our journey,—particularly as December advanced, and the setting in of the rainy season was to be expected every moment.

I think that the most important results of my expedition are, the discovery of the Mackenzie, the Isaacks, the Downs of Peak Range, and the Sutor; that of a communication between the east coast of Australia, and of the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, along the river, with running water through a fine country; that of the Nonda Country, and of the Big Plains at the east side, and at the head of the Gulf; that of a communication between Limnenbight and the South Alligator River, along running streams and creeks. The future will show how far the country along the Big Rivers, between the head of the Gulf and Limnenbight, is available.

It was to be expected that the Muse, which had mourned over Dr. Leichhardt's supposed death, should not be silent on the occasion of his joyful return; and accordingly the following spirited verses, along with others of inferior merit, appeared in the columns of the Colonial Press:—

STANZAS,

Written on the return of L. LEICHHARDT, Esq., from an Expedition through the unexplored regions of Australia between Moreton Bay and Port Essington.

THY footsteps have return'd again, thou wanderer of the wild,
Where Nature, from her lonely throne, in giant beauty smiled.
Pilgrim of mighty wastes, untrod by human foot before,
Triumphant o'er the wilderness, thy weary journey's o'er !

Thou hast battled with the dangers of the forest and the flood,
And amid the silent desert—a conqueror hast stood :
Thou hast triumph'd o'er the perils of the mountain and the plain,
And a nation's smiling welcome is thy greeting home again !

Long had we mourn'd with sorrowing, and plaintive dirges sung,
For fate a wild mysterious veil around thy name had flung,—
And hope's declining energies, with feeble effort strove
Against the boding voice of fear, that haunts the heart of love.

And rumour, with her hundred tongues—her vague and blighting
breath,

Had whisper'd tidings sad and drear—dark tales of blood and
death ;

Till tortured fancy ceased to hope, and all despairing, gave
Thy name a hallow'd memory—thy bones a desert grave.

But, no ! that proud intrepid heart still held its purpose high,
Like Afric's martyr traveller—resolved to do or die ;
Like him, to find a lonely grave in desert sands of flame,
Or win a bright eternity of high and glorious fame !

Oft in the silent wilderness, when meaner spirits quail'd,
Have thy unfailing energies, to cheer, and soothe prevail'd ;
For well thy hope-inspiring voice could speak of perils past,
And bid each coming one appear less painful than the last.

And oft e'en that brave heart of thine has sadden'd to despair,
When o'er some wild and lonely scene, the moonlight shining fair
Hath bid thy soften'd spirit feel how lonely were thy lot,
To die—thy mission unfulfill'd—unknown, unwept, forgot.

And when beside thy comrade's grave, thy stricken heart bow'd
down,

And wept o'er that glad spirit's wreck, its dream of young re-
nown—

There was bitterness of soul in the silent prayer that rose,
Ere they left him in the desert to his long and lone repose.

At length the hour of triumph came—the white man's track
appear'd—

Visions of bright and holy joy thy toil-worn spirit cheer'd :
A glorious pride lit up thy heart, and glow'd upon thy brow,
For Leichhardt's name among the great and good is deathless now.

Thou hast wrought thy work of victory, by deeds of blood unstain'd,

For man's appointed purposes a glorious world obtain'd;
Thy step upon the wilderness, the harbinger of peace,
Hath bid that wild and savage night of solitude to cease.

Proud man! In after ages, the story shall be told,
Of that advent'rous traveller—the generous—the bold,
Who scorning hope of selfish gain, disdaining soft repose,
Taught the dark and howling wilderness to blossom like the rose.

E. K. S.

But the gratulations of the Colonists were not exhibited merely in complimentary verses: a public meeting was held in Sydney, at which I had the honour of proposing a resolution, which was carried with acclamation, to the effect "That the grateful thanks of the Colony were due to Dr. Leichhardt and his party, for the eminent services they had rendered not only to the Colony, but to the cause of science and civilization generally throughout the world, in their successful expedition to Port Essington; and that in testimony of this feeling on the part of the Colonists, a subscription be commenced on behalf of Dr. Leichhardt and his party." The call which was thus addressed to the Colonial public was nobly responded to, upwards of £2000 having been subscribed and paid by the Colonists to the Leichhardt Testimonial. A motion had also been made in the Legislative Council, recommending the Government to place £1000, on the Supplementary Estimate for 1846, as a further donation from the Public Treasury; but the Colonial Secretary having signified, on the part of the Governor, His Excellency's willingness to grant the amount proposed from the Land Fund, a fund over which the Council has no control, the motion was withdrawn, that Dr. Leichhardt might have the thanks of the House presented to him by the Speaker from the chair, and the grant from the Land Fund was paid accordingly. It will scarcely be necessary to suggest to the reader, that the whole affair is highly honourable to the Colony of New South Wales.

There is one circumstance in which Dr. Leichhardt's

expedition has been remarkably different from all previous expeditions of discovery in Australia. It has not resulted in an attempt to confer unmerited immortality on a number of obscure individuals, who had no other title to distinction than that of holding clerkships or other subordinate Colonial appointments under the authorities of Downing Street. There *were* people in New South Wales who felt not a little soreness on this private account amid the general rejoicing, and Dr. Leichhardt's departure from an old-established rule, as well as his actual nomenclature, was made the subject of private criticism in various quarters. But Dr. L. had received no favours, for which to be thankful at the time, in these quarters, and he was of too manly a spirit to resort to such a mode of obtaining them in future. There were also a few private individuals who had rendered him assistance in his day of small things, and whose claims on his grateful remembrance he was of too generous a nature to forget; and he had also a few private friends, who, although unable to contribute more comparatively to the expedition than the donation of the celebrated Mungo Park, when he gave a hospitable negro woman the last two brass buttons of his waistco at for anight's board and lodging in the interior of Africa, wished well to his undertaking, and bid him God speed. I had the honour to be of the latter number; and I can assure the reader I was as much taken with surprise at finding myself bound in basalt for the future in a conspicuous mountain far within the Tropics, as most of the Government Officers of the Colony were at finding no memorial of themselves in Dr. Leichhardt's Journal.

Dr. Leichhardt—to whom about five-eighths of the sums contributed respectively by the public and the Government were very properly allotted—was not likely to receive this boon from the Colony, without endeavouring at least to prove that, as it had been well-merited, so it has been well-bestowed. Having ascertained in the course of his late expedition that the great water-shed of New Holland, which separates the waters

flowing to the northward into the Gulf of Carpentaria, from those flowing towards the Great Southern Ocean, is nearly coincident with the Southern Tropic, he has again started with a fresh expedition to cross the continent, if possible, from east to west, on that parallel of latitude, and, if successful, to fall down upon the little Colony of Swan River or Western Australia. The following is a notice of his progress from the *Moreton Bay Courier*, a recently established Journal, of December last :—

We have pleasure in being enabled to furnish our readers with some additional information respecting the progress of Dr. Leichhardt and party, in their exploring expedition towards Swan River. The party arrived at Mr. Andrews' station, Oakey Creek, about the 24th November, and consisted of the following persons :—Dr. Leichhardt, Mr. John Mann, surveyor, Mr. Hovenden Hely, Mr. Bunce, naturalist, Mr. Turnbull, James Perry, saddler, Henry Boaching, tanner, and two Aboriginal blacks, Harry Brown and Womai, the former from Newcastle, and the latter from Stroud. On his arrival at Oakey Creek, the Doctor had with him the following stock, viz.—14 horses, 16 mules, 270 goats, 90 sheep, and 40 head of cattle.

In the meantime, the Right Honourable the Secretary of State having approved of the expedition recommended by the Legislative Council in 1843, and the Council having voted £2000 for the purpose from the Ordinary Revenue, during the Session of 1845, Sir Thomas Mitchell started at length from Fort Bourke, a few weeks before Dr. Leichhardt's return ; and the reader will find a brief, but interesting account of his Expedition, drawn up by himself, and published in the Colonial Government Gazette, in an Appendix to this volume. The results of this expedition, I am happy to add, are of the utmost importance.

These two expeditions have virtually added a vast extent of available territory of the most valuable description to the British Empire, augmenting the resources of the future Colony of Cooksland to a wonderful degree, and opening up a highly promising field for the settlement of an industrious and virtuous European population in that noble Colony. And when it

is borne in mind that this population will, in all likelihood, eventually render Great Britain independent of the slave-labour of America, by raising for the home-market the productions of indispensable necessity for her rapidly-extending manufactures, the prospect is animating in the highest degree, not only for the Colony, but for Britain herself, and for philanthropy. "The fact," observes the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, of the 1st January 1847, "is now established beyond doubt, that in point of extent, of natural fertility, and variety of resources, the Northern Territory of Australia excels all that is known of the Southern. What with the agricultural and mineral wealth of South Australia—the magnificent pasturage of Australia Felix, the advanced wealth and civilization of New South Wales Proper, and the boundless tropical and semi-tropical resources thrown open by Leichhardt and Mitchell—the national importance of this part of Her Majesty's dominions cannot be too highly estimated."

CHAPTER X.

THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA, AND ESPECIALLY OF COOKSLAND.

Nulli certa domus ; lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus.—VIRG. *ÆN.*, vi. 675.

In no fix'd place the happy souls reside ;
In groves we live, and lie on mossy beds
By crystal streams that murmur through the meads.
DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

THE existence and distribution of the Papuan Negro or Black Race of the South-eastern Hemisphere, is one of the most mysterious facts in the history of man. Most people are aware that the Aborigines of the vast continental island of New Holland are of a black colour, and bear some resemblance to the African negro ; but very few comparatively are aware of the vast extent of that portion of the surface of the habitable globe which this ancient and singular race have roamed over from time immemorial, and of which they have unquestionably been the Aboriginal inhabitants. Long before European navigators had discovered New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, in the early part of the 17th century, they had occupied, and parcelled out among their wandering tribes, the whole extent of these vast regions, which are nearly as large as all Europe.* They are still the only inhabitants of the large islands of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland

* M. Freycinet, in his "*Voyage aux Terres Australes*," page 107, estimates the superficial extent of New Holland at 384. 375, and that of Europe at 501. 875 French leagues.

and New Caledonia ; of the Mallicollo Islands, or New Hebrides, as well as of many of the other islands of the Western Pacific, both northward and southward of the Equator, and of the Indian Archipelago. In many of these islands indeed they have been subdued and extirpated by the fairer race from the westward ; but in some, of larger size, as in Sumatra, Borneo, Timor, and Java, they have merely been driven to the mountains, while in others, as in the Feejee and Navigators' Islands, they have gradually mingled with the intruders, and given rise to an intermediate race. They still inhabit exclusively the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, and small remnants of their widely scattered race are to be found even in the Island of Formosa on the coast of China, and in the mountains of Continental India. Surely then the origin and history of a race that has thus occupied, at one time exclusively, a far larger extent of the earth's surface than that of the ancient Roman Empire in its greatest glory, well deserve the attentive consideration of the philosopher and the divine.

"I am convinced," says the unfortunate M. de la Perouse, "that the race of woolly-haired men,* still found in the interior parts of the islands of Luconia and Formosa, were the Aborigines of the Philippine Islands, Formosa, New Guinea, New Britain, the New Hebrides, Friendly Islands, &c., in the Southern Hemisphere, and of the Carolines, Ladrões, and Sandwich Islands, in the Northern. In New Guinea, New Britain, and the New Hebrides, they were not to be subdued ; but being vanquished in the islands further east, which were too

* It is scarcely correct to characterise the Papuan negro, or black race of the Eastern Hemisphere, as woolly-haired. The hair, at least among the Aborigines of New Holland, is generally lank and black, although the grease and other substances with which it is mixed and *done up*, agreeably to the taste of the native *perruquier*, often give it the *appearance* of the woolly hair of the negro. The hair is very different, however, in different tribes.

The following very judicious remarks on this subject are from

small to afford them a retreat in their centres, they intermingled with their conquerors; and hence originated that race of very black people, whose complexion still remains a few shades deeper than that of certain families in the country, who probably made it a point of honour not to contaminate their blood. These two very distinct races appeared striking to our eyes at the Navigators' Islands, and I can ascribe them to no other origin."*

The following testimony, which is somewhat more in detail, is to the same effect. It is given by a very able observer, whom I have already had occasion to quote, Dr. Reinold Forster, the companion of Captain Cook in his last voyage round the world:—

We chiefly observed, two great varieties of people in the South Seas; the one more fair, well-limbed, athletic, of a fine

the pen of Sir Thomas Mitchell:—"The natives of Van Dieman's Land, the only inhabited region south of Australia, are said to have been as dark as the negro race, with woolly hair like them. But these characteristics are very much at variance with the descriptions of the savages seen by the earliest European visitors, and especially by Captain Cook, who thus describes those he saw at Adventure Bay in 1777.—'Their colour is a dull black, and not quite so deep as that of the African negroes. It should seem also that they sometimes heighten their black colour by smoking their bodies, as a mark was left behind on any clean substance, such as white paper, when they handled it.' Captain Cook then proceeds to describe the hair as being woolly, but all the other particulars of that description are identical with the peculiarities of Australian natives; and Captain King stated, according to the editor of the Northern Voyage of Cook, that 'Captain Cook was very unwilling to allow that the hair of the natives seen in Adventure Bay *was* woolly.' The hair of the natives we saw in the interior, and especially of the females, had a very frizzled appearance, and never grew long; and I should rather consider the hair of the natives of Tasmania as differing in degree only from the frizzled hair of those of Australia."†

* La Perouse's Voyage, chap. xxv.

† Three Expeditions into the Interior of Australia, by Sir T. Mitchell, &c., vol. ii. p. 336.

size, and a kind benevolent temper ; the other blacker, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body more slender and low, and their temper, if possible, more brisk, though somewhat mistrustful. The first race inhabits Otaheite and the Society Isles, the Marquesas, the Friendly Isles, Easter Island, and New Zealand. The second race peoples New Caledonia, Tanna, and the New Hebrides, especially Mallicollo. * * * Each of the above two races of men is again divided into several varieties, which form the gradations towards the other race ; so that we find some of the first race almost as black and slender as some of the second, and in this second race are some strong, athletic figures, which may almost vie with the first.

The varieties of men belonging to the second tribe, or race of people in the South Seas, are all confined within the Tropics to its most western parts.

First. The extensive country of New Caledonia, though near the continent of New Holland, is inhabited by a set of men who are totally different from the slender, diminutive natives of that country, and in many respects distinct from all the nations of the first tribe, living in the Eastern Isles of the South Seas. Many of these New Caledonians are tall and stout, and the rest are not below the common size ; but their women, who appear here again under the humiliating and disgracing predicament of drudges, are commonly small. They are all of a swarthy colour ; their hair is crisped, but not very woolly ; their chins are surrounded with respectable beards, which they now and then tie up in a knot ; their features are strong and masculine ; the earlaps are cut and enlarged in the same manner as in Easter Island. Their limbs are strong and active, marked by strong outlines. Their females having generally coarse features, few having anything agreeable or pleasing in their round faces, with thick lips and wide mouths. Their teeth are fine, their eyes lively ; the hair finely curled ; the body, in such as have not yet borne children, is well proportioned, with a flowing outline and fine extremities. The generality are of a mild and good-natured temper, ready to please their guests in everything in which they can be servicable.

Second. The inhabitants of Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, are almost of the same swarthy colour as the former ; only a few had a clearer complexion, and in these the tips of their hair were of a yellowish brown : the hair and beards of the rest are all black and crisp, nay, in some woolly. The generality of them are tall, stout, and well made ; none of them are corpulent or fat. The features of the greater part are manly and bold, and but few are disagreeable. Both sexes have large holes in the lap of their ear, and wear several large rings of tortoise-shell in them ; the *septum narium* is likewise perforated, and they wear a stick or

whiteish cylindrical stone in it. Their whole body is naked. On their breasts and arms are figures cut in, to which they apply some plant that raises a scar above the rest of the skin. They are a good-natured, friendly set of men, exercising hospitality in a high degree. They seem to be valiant in encountering enemies who are equal to them in arms. I hardly know an instance of their stealing anything from us. They showed at times almost as much levity as the other natives of the South Seas, though, in my opinion, they were in general more grave ; however, they are lively, brisk, and ready to do any service that lies in their power.

Third. The natives of Mallicollo are a small, nimble, slender, black and ill-favoured set of beings, that, of all men I ever saw, border the nearest upon the tribe of monkeys. Their skulls are of a very singular structure, being from the root of the nose more depressed backwards than in any of the other races of mankind which we had formerly seen. Their women are ugly and deformed. The hair is in the greatest part of them woolly and frizzled. Their ears and noses perforated for the insertion of large rings in the one, and of sticks or stones in the other. Their complexion is sooty, their features harsh, the cheek-bone and face broad, and the whole countenance highly disagreeable. Their limbs are slender, though well shaped. They are nimble, lively, and restless ; some of them seem to be ill-natured and mischievous, but the generality of a friendly and good disposition. They seem to love joy and merriment, music, songs and dances.*

It has generally been taken for granted that the Papuan race, judging of it from the specimens seen by navigators on the coasts of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, is not only at the very bottom of the scale of humanity, but that no other portion of the human race has ever fallen so low ; and this gratuitous supposition has not unfrequently been put forward by writers unfriendly to Revelation, to insinuate the belief that this abject race cannot possibly be of that "one blood" of which, we are divinely informed, "God hath made all

* Observations made during a Voyage round the World, &c. By John Reinold Forster, LL.D. London, 1778. P. 228 to 243, *passim*. This is the best and, as yet, the latest account we have had of the black race of the Western Pacific. That race has hitherto attracted comparatively no attention whatever. Many volumes have in the meantime been published on the fairer, or as it is usually styled, by way of distinction, the Polynesian race.

men everywhere, for to dwell upon all the face of the earth." For instance, in his *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Mr. Crawford writes as follows :—

The brown and negro races of the Archipelago may be considered to present, in their physical and moral character, a complete parallel with the white and negro races of the western world. The first have always displayed as eminent a relative superiority over the second as the race of white men have done over the negroes of the west. All the indigenous civilization of the Archipelago has sprung from them ; and the negro race is constantly found in the most savage state. That race is to be traced from one extremity of the Archipelago to another, but is necessarily least frequent where the most civilized race is most numerous, and seems utterly to have disappeared where the civilization of the fairer race has proceeded furthest, as in Sumatra, Java, and perhaps Celebes ; just as the Caribs and other savages of America have given way to the civilized invaders of Europe. The negro races of the Archipelago increase in numbers in the inverse ratio of improvement, or, in other words, as we proceed eastward. In some of the Spice islands, their extirpation is matter of history. They are the principal races in some of the islands towards New Guinea, and nearly the sole inhabitants of the portion of that great island itself, which, from its physical character, we have a right to include within the limits of the Archipelago.

The east insular negro is a distinct variety of the human species, and evidently a very inferior one. Their puny stature and feeble frames are not to be ascribed to the poverty of their food or the hardships of their condition ; for the lank-haired race, living under circumstances equally precarious, have vigorous constitutions. Some islands they enjoy exclusively to themselves, yet they have in no instance risen above the most abject state of barbarism. Wherever they are encountered by the fairer races, they are hunted down, like the wild animals of the forest, and driven to the mountains or fastnesses, incapable of resistance.*

Now I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that this picture, however applicable to the circumstances of the black race in the Indian Archipelago, is, as a picture of the Papuan race generally, unwarranted by facts, and greatly overcharged. The circumstances in which the miserable remnant of the Papuan race is found in the Archipelago, hunted down, like the wild animals of the forest, by a superior and more powerful race, are quite

* Crawford's *History Ind. Archipelago*, vol. i. pp. 18-24.

sufficient to account for their "puny stature and feeble frames," as well as for their abject condition in the social scale. The comparative rigour of the climate and the scantiness of the food, from the general sterility of the soil, have produced a somewhat similar effect on the Aborigines of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land in those parts of these countries that were first visited by Europeans. But Dr. Forster does not appear to have observed any intellectual inferiority on the part of the Papuan islanders of the western Pacific, as compared with the fairer race of the more easterly islands. According to that able and accurate observer, there was the same variety of form and feature and physical development among the former of these races, as is observable in other portions of the human family; and while I am confident that the sequel of this chapter will demonstrate that the idea of a radical inferiority of intellectual power in the Papuan race is gratuitous and unwarranted, I can testify from my own observation that, in regard even to physical development, the same variety as Dr. Forster observed in New Caledonia, Tanna, and Mallicollo, obtains even among the Aborigines of New Holland, whose identity of race and origin has never been disputed: for the natives of the Moreton Bay district, generally,—tall, strong, athletic, able-bodied men, as they are,—are as different as possible from the lean, lank, bony figures that are found on some other parts of the coast.

It is stated indeed by Count Strzelecki, a distinguished Polish traveller, who has recently published a work of great merit on the physical character of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, that "throughout New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, the external organization of the Aborigines bears the stamp of *different families*; with, again, such variations as the nature of the climate, combined with other conditions of life, would naturally impress upon the human frame."*

* Strzelecki on the Physical Character of New South Wales, p. 334.

If Count Strzelecki means by the somewhat ambiguous phrase "different families," that the Aborigines of all parts of Australia, including those of Van Dieman's Land, do not exhibit the marks of a common origin, I must say that it is not the only instance in his otherwise highly meritorious work in which he has leaped somewhat hastily to his conclusions. There are, doubtless, as the testimony of Forster abundantly proves, the same minute differences observable in the physical character and development of the different portions of the Papuan race, as there are in any of the other great divisions of the human family; but there is nothing that I am aware of to militate against the idea that the entire Aboriginal population of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land is sprung from the same common stock,—that "the rude forefathers of the race," whithersoever they came from, arrived originally in the Great South Land by the same canoe. After doing the New Hollander, however, the justice to state that, on a "close examination of his cranium, instead of peculiarities, strong analogies were found to the skulls of white men, and that in many instances it was even remarked that THE FACIAL ANGLE OF THE WHITE WAS MORE ACUTE THAN IN THE SKULLS OF THE ABORIGINES," the Polish traveller sums up his account of the physical characteristics of the Australian Papuan in the following language, which certainly stands in remarkable contrast with Mr. Crawford's description of the unfortunate Papuan of the Indian Archipelago.

"Notwithstanding a partial inferiority of shape in some of the details, the native of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land possesses, on the whole, a well-proportioned frame. His limbs, less fleshy or massive than those of a well-formed African, exhibit all the symmetry and peculiarly well-defined muscular development and well-knit articulations and roundness which characterize the negro; hence, compared with the latter, he is swifter in his movements, and in his gait more graceful. His agility, adroitness, and flexibility when running, climbing, or stalking his prey, are more fully displayed; and when beheld in the posture of striking, or throwing his spear, his attitude leaves nothing to be desired in point of manly grace. In his physical ap-

pearance, nevertheless, he does not exhibit any features by which his race could be classed or identified with any of the generally known families of mankind.”*

I question, also, whether there is any portion of the Papuan race in a more abject and degraded condition than that in which Forster found the Pesserais, as he calls them, or American Indians of Tierra del Fuego. “To the south of the straits of Magalhaens, or Tierra del Fuego, are a tribe of people apparently much debased or degenerated from those nations which live on the continent. We found them to be a short, squat race, with large heads; their colour yellowish brown, the features harsh, the face broad, the cheek-bones high and prominent, the nose flat, the nostrils and mouth large, and the whole countenance without meaning. The hair is black and straight, hanging about the face in a shocking manner; their beards thin and cut short. All the upper part of the body is stout; the shoulders and chest broad; the belly straight but not prominent. The feet are by no means proportioned to the upper parts; for the thighs are thin and lean, the legs bent, the knees large, and the toes turned inwards. They are absolutely naked, and have only a small piece of seal-skin hanging down and covering part of their backs. Their women are much of the same features, colour, and form as the men, and have generally long hanging breasts, and, besides the seal-skin on their backs, a small patch of the skin of a bird or seal in front. All have a countenance announcing nothing but their wretchedness. They seem to be good-natured, friendly, and harmless, but remarkably stupid, being incapable of understanding any of our signs, which, however, were very intelligible to the nations of the South Seas. They stank immoderately of train-oil, so that we might smell them at a distance, and in the finest days they were shivering with cold. *Human nature appeared*

* Strzelecki, p. 336.

*nowhere in so debased and wretched a condition as with these miserable, forlorn, and stupid creatures.”**

And again, “The Pesserais whom we saw were without any other covering than that of a small piece of seal-skin, or a part of a guanacoe skin, hung over their backs, and seemed not the least concerned upon exposing the rest of their persons. The women had only a piece of white bird’s skin, about six inches square, hardly sufficient to be called a badge of modesty; nor was this custom universal, for some of them were seen without it. They have no other shelter than a few poles stuck in the ground, or small trees which they find on the spot, tied together by leather straps or bast, and a few bundles of brushwood fixed over them, by way of covering, all which is encompassed by some seal-skins; this kind of hut is open at least one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole circumference, and in this opening the fire is made, so that they remain exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to the rigour of the climate, which was far from being mild in the height of their summer. Notwithstanding all this, it appears to me to be very singular that a people, having a great quantity of the finest wood, should be so much at a loss to make their situation a little more comfortable, by employing this timber in building with it more convenient houses and stronger boats.”†

But the wretched inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, whose bleak island is only a few hundred miles to the eastward of our vessel, as I am writing this paragraph, are not the only portion of the Indo-American race that has reached the same low, and apparently hopeless, position in the social scale, as the aborigines of New Holland and Van Dieman’s Land, or their congeners of the Papuan race, in the Indian Archipelago. The whole of the aboriginal population of the Brazils, appears, on the testimony of Dr. Von Martius, a recent and highly accomplished traveller in that country,

* Observations, &c., p. 250. † Observations, &c., p. 312.

to be in precisely the same social condition ; insomuch that the eloquent description which that traveller has given of this large portion of the Indo-American race might, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied, in almost every particular, to the aborigines of Australia. In the one case, as well as in the other, there is the singular moral phenomenon, of "a thinly scattered population of aboriginal natives" occupying a vast extent of territory, and "agreeing in bodily make, temperament, dispositions, manners, customs, and modes of living," but presenting "a truly astonishing discordance of languages." In both cases there is the same "disruption of society into innumerable fragments, each animated with a feeling of distrust, or of positive hatred and hostility towards every other." In both cases there is the same general, if not universal, prevalence of cannibalism ; although, in the case of the aborigines of Australia, it occurs in circumstances that invest the horrid practice with an interest which almost redeems its character, and which it certainly cannot claim in that of the Indo-Americans. In both cases there are the same unequivocal evidences of the extreme antiquity of the race, as well as of an extinct and long-forgotten civilization, on which there is no traditionary poetry, or other memorial of the past, to shed a solitary gleam of light. And in both cases there is the same passive resistance, to every attempt from without, at the social elevation of the race, and the same rapid, visible, and gloomy progress towards its ultimate annihilation.

The interesting passage to which I refer, and which the reader will find in a note, at the bottom of the page,* forms a quotation in a small work which I pub-

* The intelligent Bavarian traveller to whom I have already referred, finding the existence, and the past and present condition of man in the forests of America, a problem too difficult for his own philosophy to solve, has adopted the unphilosophical hypothesis which the Roman historian, Tacitus, had advanced so long before in regard to the existence of his own German fore-

lished in London, in the year 1834, entitled, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation, demonstrating their ancient discovery, and progressive settlement of the continent of America.* In that work, which

fathers in the ancient Hercynian forest. Dr. Von Martius believes the Indo-Americans indigenous. He regards them as a race peculiar to the continent they inhabit—an inferior and unfinished specimen of humanity—the abortive effort, perchance, of some ancient demiurgus, emulous, but yet utterly unable, to copy the noblest work of the Supreme Creator,—the Caucasian, or European man. The German philosopher's description of his unhappy subject is highly interesting, highly eloquent ; and, as it serves to form the groundwork of one of the most recently erected superstructures of infidelity, it may not be unprofitable for the reader to find that that superstructure has already fallen to the ground, and that each of those mysterious peculiarities in the character and condition of the Indo-American, to which philosophy proudly and triumphantly appeals in her eagerness to give the lie to Divine Revelation, strongly and strikingly corroborates the truth of the ancient declaration of Holy Writ, that “God hath made of one blood all the nations of men *for to dwell on all the face of the earth.*”

“The indigenous race of the New World,” observes Dr. Von Martius, “is distinguished from all the other nations of the earth, externally by peculiarities of make, but still more internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The aboriginal American is at once in the incapacity of infancy and unpliancy of old age ; he unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. This strange and inexplicable condition has hitherto frustrated almost every attempt to reconcile him completely with the European, to whom he gives way, so as to make him a cheerful and happy member of the community ; and it is this, his double nature, which presents the greatest difficulty to science, when she endeavours to investigate his origin and those earlier epochs of his history in which he has, for thousands of years, moved indeed, but made no improvement in his condition. But this is far removed from that natural state of child-like serenity which marked (as an inward voice declares to us, and as the most ancient written documents affirm,) the first and purest period of the history of mankind. The men of the *red race*, on the contrary, it must be confessed, do not appear to feel the blessing of a Divine descent, but to have been led by merely animal instinct and tardy steps through a dark Past to their actual cheerless Present. Much, therefore, seems to intimate that the native Americans are not in the first stage of that simple—we might say, physical—development, that they are in a secondary regenerated state.

“We behold in Brazil a thinly scattered population of aborigi-

had reference exclusively to the lighter race of the Pacific, I endeavoured, and still think successfully, to prove, that America had been originally reached, in the infancy of the post-diluvian world, and, by mere

nal natives, who agree in bodily make, temperament, disposition, manners, customs, and mode of living ; but their languages present a truly astonishing discordance. We often meet with one used only by a few individuals connected with each other by relationship, who are thus completely isolated, and can hold no communication with any of their other countrymen far and near. Out of the twenty Indians employed as rowers in the boat in which we navigated the streams of the interior, there were often not more than three or four who understood any common language; and we had before our eyes the melancholy spectacle of individuals labouring jointly, though entirely isolated with respect to everything which contributes to the satisfaction of the first wants of life. In gloomy silence did these Indians ply the oar together, and join in managing the boat, or in taking their frugal meals; but no common voice or common interest cheered them as they sat beside each other, during a journey of several hundred miles, which their various fortunes had called them to perform together."

After mentioning the fact that one hundred and fifty different languages and dialects are spoken in Brazil, and that more than two hundred and fifty different names of nations, hordes, or tribes, are at present found in that country, Dr. Von Martius observes: "To guide the inquirer through the intricacies of this labyrinth, there is not a vestige of history to afford any clue. Not a ray of tradition, not a war-song nor a funeral-lay can be found to clear away the dark night in which the earlier ages of America are involved." And again, "To the north of the river of Amazons there is an extraordinary number of small hordes and tribes bearing the most dissimilar appellations, as if the original population, displaced by still more frequent emigrations, wars, and other unknown catastrophes, had here been broken up and split into feebler aggregations. These hordes are found consisting of only one, or at most a few families, entirely cut off from all communication with their neighbours ; cautiously concealed in the gloom of their primeval forests, from which they never issue except when terrified by some external cause ; and speaking a highly impoverished and crippled language—the afflicting image of that hapless state in which man, oppressed with the curse of his existence, as if striving to fly from himself, shuns the approach of his brother."

"While, in other parts of the world, we see various degrees of intellectual development and retardation simultaneously and proximately occurring—the ever-varying consequences of the

accident, across the broadest part of the Pacific, by means of the stepping-stones of the South Sea Islands—the same causes that had led, in the course of ages, to the gradual dispersion of the Malayan race over that

changing course of events, the whole aboriginal population of America, on the contrary, exhibits one monotonous poverty of intellect and mental torpor; as if neither internal emotions, nor the impression of external objects, had been able to rouse and release them from their moral inflexibility. This is the more astonishing, as it appears to extend from pole to pole, and applies to the inhabitants of the tropics as well as to the natives of the frozen zones. Yet, this rude and melancholy condition is, beyond a doubt, not the first in which the American was placed—it is a degenerate and debased state. Far beyond it, and separated by the obscurity of ages, lies a nobler past, which he once enjoyed, but which can now be only inferred from a few relics. Colossal works of architecture, comparable in extent to the monuments of ancient Egypt, (as those of Tiahuanacu on the lake Titicaca, which the Peruvians, as far back as the time of the Spanish conquest, beheld with wonder as the remains of a much more ancient people—raised, according to tradition, as if by magic, in a single night; and similar creations, scattered in enigmatic fragments, here and there, over both the Americas,) bear witness that their inhabitants had, in remote ages, developed a moral power and mental cultivation which have now entirely vanished. A mere semblance of them—an attempt to bring back a period which had long passed by—seems perceptible in the kingdom and institutions of the Incas. In Brazil no such trace of an earlier civilization has yet been discovered; and if it ever existed here, it must have been in a very remotely distant period; yet still, even the condition of the Brazilians, as of every other American people, furnishes proofs that the inhabitants of this New Continent, as it is called, are by no means a modern race, *even supposing we could assume our Christian chronology as a measure for the age and historical development of their country.* This irrefragable evidence is furnished by Nature herself, in the domestic animals and esculent plants by which the aboriginal American is surrounded, and which trace an essential feature in the history of his mental culture. The present state of these productions of nature is a documentary proof, that in America she has been already, for many thousands of years, influenced by the improving and transforming hand of man.” After pursuing this idea at considerable length, Dr. Von Martius states his “conviction, that the first germs of development of the human race in America can be sought nowhere except in that quarter of the globe.”

“Besides the traces of a primeval, and, in like manner, ante-historic culture of the human race in America, as well as a very

vast ocean, from the Sandwich Islands in the Northern, to New Zealand in the Southern Hemisphere; and from the latter island in the Western, to Easter Island, in the Eastern Pacific, having also led to the further mi-

early influence on the productions of nature, we may also adduce, as a ground for these views, the basis of the present state of natural and civil rights among the aboriginal Americans ;—I mean precisely, as before observed, that enigmatical subdivision of the natives into an almost countless multitude of greater and smaller groups, and that almost entire exclusion and excommunication with regard to each other, in which mankind presents its different families to us in America, like the fragments of a vast ruin. The history of the other nations inhabiting the earth furnishes nothing which has any analogy to this.

“This disrapture of all the bands by which society was anciently held together, accompanied by a Babylonish confusion of tongues multiplied by it—the rude right of force, the never-ending tacit warfare of all against all, springing from that very disrapture—appear to me the most essential, and, as far as history is concerned, the most significant points in the civil condition of the Brazilians, and, in general, of the whole aboriginal population of America. Such a state of society cannot be the consequence of modern revolutions. It indicates, by marks which cannot be overlooked or disputed, the lapse of many ages.

“Long-continued migrations of single nations and tribes have doubtless taken place from a very early period throughout the whole continent of America, and they may have been especially the causes of dismemberment and corruption in the languages, and of a corresponding demoralization of the people. By assuming that only a few leading nations were at first, as was the case with the Tupi people, dispersed like so many rays of light, mingled together, and dissolved, as it were, into each other by mutual collision ; and that these migrations, divisions, and subsequent combinations have been continued *for countless ages*, the present state of mankind in America may assuredly be accounted for ; but the cause of this singular misdevelopment remains, no less on that account, unknown and enigmatical. Can it be conjectured that some extensive convulsion of nature—some earthquake rending asunder sea and land, such as is reported to have swallowed up the far-famed island of Atalantis—has there swept away the inhabitants in its vortex ? Has such a calamity filled the survivors with a terror so monstrous, as, handed down from race to race, must have darkened and perplexed their intellects, hardened their hearts, and driven them, as if flying at random from each other, far from the blessings of social life ? Have, perchance, burning and destructive suns, or overwhelming floods, threatened the man of the red race with a horrible death by

gration of a few solitary individuals, in all likelihood from the last-mentioned of these islands, to the American land. This theory, which occurred to me in traversing the Southern Pacific, in the year 1830, satisfactorily explains, not only the peculiar and thoroughly Polynesian character of Indo-American civilization, but the fact that that civilization had its seat and origin near the Pacific, and towards the equator; and that the farther we recede from that cradle of the nation, either to the trackless forests of the Brazils, or the in-

famine, and armed him with a rude and unholy hostility, so that, maddened against himself by atrocious and bloody acts of cannibalism, he has fallen from the godlike dignity for which he was designed, to his present degraded state of darkness? Or is this *inhumanness* the consequence of deeply-rooted preternatural vices, inflicted by the genius of our race (with a severity which, to the eye of a short-sighted observer, appears throughout all nature like cruelty) on the innocent as well as the guilty?"

The conclusion which the learned Bavarian draws from these premises, is, "that it is impossible entirely to discard the idea of some general defect in the organization of the red race of men; for it is manifest, that it already bears within itself the germ of an early extinction. The Americans, it cannot be doubted, exhibit symptoms of approaching dissolution. Other nations will live, when these blessed children of the New World have all gone to their final rest in the long sleep of death. Their songs have long ceased to resound; the immortality of their edifices has long been mouldering; and no elevated spirit has revealed itself in any noble effusions from that quarter of the globe. Without being reconciled with the nations of the East, or with their own fortunes, they are already vanishing away: yes, it almost appears as if no other intellectual life were allotted to them, than that of calling forth our painful compassion; as if they existed only for the negative purpose of awakening our astonishment, by the spectacle of a whole race of men, the inhabitants of a large portion of the globe, in a state of living decay.

"In fact, the present and future condition of this red race of men, who wander about in their native land, without house or covering—whom the most benevolent and brotherly love despairs of ever providing with a home—is a monstrous and tragical drama, such as no fiction of the poet ever yet presented to our contemplation. A whole race of men is wasting away before the eyes of its commiserating contemporaries: no power of princes, philosophy, or Christianity, can arrest its proudly gloomy progress towards a certain and utter destruction."

hospitable shores of Tierra del Fuego, we find the race gradually degenerating towards absolute barbarism. For the comparatively easy passage which the Mississippi and its tributary streams, would afford to the vast regions of the north, as well as the more open character of the country in North America, as compared with the dense forests of the Brazils, appears to have prevented the tribes of the Northern continent from degenerating in the same ratio, or to the same extent. The mass of evidence that can be brought in support of this theory—from the manners and customs of those two great divisions of the family of man, the Indo-Americans and the Polynesians of the lighter race; from the type of their extinct civilization, so unlike every thing in the European world; from certain peculiarities in their languages; from their architectural remains, and from the prevalence of habits acquired from necessity, in the course of those miserable voyages that had scattered the race over the vast Pacific—is incredible to those who have hitherto allowed themselves to be amused with theories on the subject of the original discovery and settlement of America, that have neither a tittle of evidence in their favour, of the kind to which I have referred, nor a shadow of probability. In addition to all this, I may state, in conclusion, that my friend Dr. Moreton of Philadelphia, the author of a work of great merit, entitled, *Crania Americana* (in which he has demonstrated that the Indo-Americans, Northern and Southern, ancient and modern, civilized and savage, are all of one common origin, with the exception of the Esquimaux, who, in all likelihood, crossed over from the continent of Asia by Behring's Straits), has informed me that the portion of the human race to which the Indo-American bears the strongest resemblance, in the conformation of his skull, is the South Sea Islander.

To return to the Papuan race,—if the same causes will, in similar circumstances, infallibly produce the same effects, we are warranted, *e converso*, to infer the operation of the same causes from similar effects.

Whatever causes, therefore, may have produced the extreme degeneracy and degradation of the Indo-American, or red race, in the instances I have adduced, the same causes must have been in operation in producing the extreme degeneracy and degradation of the Aborigines of Australia. In short, it were altogether unphilosophical, in such circumstances, to pre-suppose an original inferiority of intellect on the part of the Papuan negro, or to give him credit for a greater capacity for sinking in the scale of humanity than other tribes of men.

I trust, however, the reader will agree with me in thinking, that this subject is too important, and that the practical considerations involved in the question, whether the Papuan race of Australia is, or is not, a radically inferior species of the genus man (as is so often arrogantly asserted in New South Wales, by individuals who have a direct interest in vilifying the unfortunate Aborigines of that colony, and in keeping them down), too deeply affect the rights of humanity, and the character of the British nation, not to warrant still further investigation. In regard, then, to the condition of certain of the tribes of Southern Africa, it is evident, from the testimony of that intelligent and devoted missionary, Mr. Moffat, who has recently published a work on the subject, that the Bechuanas, or Bushmen, of that country, are in an equally abject state with that of any of the Aborigines of Australia. "It is impossible," observes Mr. Moffat, "to look at some of their domiciles, without the inquiry involuntarily arising in the mind—are these the abodes of human beings? In a bushy country they will form a hollow, in a central position, and bring the branches together over the head; here the man, his wife, and probably a child or two, lie huddled in a heap, on a little grass in a hollow spot, not larger than an ostrich; but when bushes are scarce, they form a hollow under the edge of a rock, covering it partially with reeds or grass; and they are often to be found in fissures, and caves of the mountains. When they have abundance of meat, they do nothing but gorge and sleep, dance and sing, till

their stock is exhausted ; but hunger soon again drives them to the chase."

" There is some reason to think," observes the distinguished philosopher and historian Mr. Hume, "that all the nations which lie beyond the polar circle, or between the tropics, are inferior to the rest of the species, and are incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. Such a uniform and constant difference (as that which subsists between the whites and the blacks) could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if Nature had not made *an original distinction* between these breeds of men."

But an equally intelligent, and much more unprejudiced witness, who speaks from extensive personal observation of the black race in Africa, expresses a very different opinion. I allude to the traveller Burckhardt.

" In intelligence I think they (the African negroes) are much upon a level with the Negro Arabs (i. e. *Arabs who have become black, from a residence in Africa for several generations*), and little lower than the inhabitants of Egypt and Syria ; nor should I much blame their obstinacy, if it were not too often accompanied by malignity. All that I observed of them has not diminished my belief, that, with proper education, the black nations might be taught to approximate, and, perhaps, to equal the white."*

Nay, an American traveller, to whom literature and science are under the highest obligations, for the light he has recently thrown on the extinct civilization of the ancient Indians of Central America, exhibits, from his own observation, the existence of a capacity for sinking in the scale of humanity, in one portion, at least, of the genuine and undoubted Caucasian race, as remarkable as that which is observable among the Blacks.

" I was forcibly struck," observes that intelligent traveller, "with a parallel between the white serfs of the North of Europe, and African bondsmen at home.

* Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 303.

The Russian boor, generally wanting the comforts which are supplied to the negro on our best ordered plantations, appeared to me not less degraded in intellect, character, and personal bearing; indeed, the marks of personal degradation were so strong, that I was insensibly compelled to abandon *certain theories, not uncommon among my countrymen at home, in regard to the intrinsic superiority of the white race over all others.* Perhaps, too, this impression was aided by my having previously met Africans of intelligence and capacity, standing upon a footing of perfect equality, as soldiers and officers in the Greek army and the Sultan's."*

"One of the principal causes of the ignorance and sloth of the Africans," (observes a continental philosopher of last century, as much a free-thinker as Mr. Hume, but either better informed, or more candid—I mean Helvetius,) "is the fertility of their country, which supplies almost all necessaries without cultivation. The African, therefore, has no motive for reflection, and in fact he reflects but little. The same may be said of the Caribs; if they are less industrious than the savages of North America, it is because they have less occasion to labour for subsistence." And again, "the superiority of certain nations over others in the arts and sciences, can only be attributed to moral causes; there are no people privileged in point of virtue, genius and courage. Nature in this respect has not made a partial distribution of her favours."

These are important admissions, especially on the part of a philosopher who ascribes the superiority of man himself over the horse, to nothing more than the excellency of the human hand, as an instrument of all work, as compared with the solid hoof of the inferior animal. In accordance, therefore, with this candid opinion of Helvetius, I proceed to show that the actual condition of the Papuan race in Australia has been the natural result of their peculiar circumstances, and not of any radical and original inferiority in that race.

* Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland. By J. L. Stephens: London, 1842. Chap. xvi.

In the first place, therefore, I conceive we are warranted to conclude, from the phenomena presented by the Papuan race, that, however abject and degraded may be its present condition, this remarkably singular and widely-scattered portion of the great family of man was originally a comparatively civilized people, strongly addicted to maritime pursuits, and displaying the utmost skill and enterprise in the art or science of ancient navigation. How shall we otherwise account for their wide dispersion over countries separated from each other, not merely by rivers and narrow straits, but by wide seas and tempestuous oceans? Had the Papuan negro never been in a higher position in the social scale than that in which we now find him in Australia, and had he never possessed any other means of conveyance by water than the miserable bark-canoe of the black natives of New South Wales (for those of Van Dieman's Land have none at all), it is not only morally certain, but physically impossible, that the numerous and remote lands, of which he has unquestionably formed the aboriginal population, could ever have been reached by his race. But this abject and degraded savage is evidently the descendant of the comparatively civilized, as well as bold intrepid navigator of a long by-gone age, who, with equal skill and daring, trimmed his light galley successively to the easterly and westerly monsoons of the great Indian Archipelago, when there were no rivals, of a different race, to dispute with him the empire of the seas, and who, in a period of time too remote for history, planted his numerous colonies in a thousand isles.

And why should this appear incredible, especially to the implicit believer of this "damnable doctrine" of some, at least, of the Australian squatters—that the black man of the forests of Australia is, originally, no better than the *orang-outang* or monkey? The black race of the Western Pacific are still as bold and skilful navigators as the fairer, or Polynesian race. They form communities and cultivate the land, as well as the other race; and, in the great island of New Guinea, which they still occupy exclusively, and from which

they have hitherto repulsed all attempts of the fairer races, whether Polynesian or European, to dispossess them, they have numerous and populous villages, as the South Sea whalers assure us, and extensive cultivation. The remarkable resemblance of the manners and customs, as well as of the physical conformation, of the Papuans of the Western Pacific, to those of the Aborigines of New Holland, proclaims their common origin, and the identity of their race. The practice of tattooing, for instance, or puncturing figures in the skin of the face, or other parts of the body, has been almost universal among the Polynesian, or lighter race of the Pacific, and has also prevailed extensively among the Indo-American nations, having been observed even among the Indians of the Red River Settlement, to the northward of Canada. It is unknown, however, to the black race of the Western Pacific, to whom, indeed, it would be of no service as an ornament, from the dark colour of their skin. But in lieu of this process, they make those singular scars on the skin, which, although unknown among the lighter race, are universal among the Aborigines of Australia.

“The inhabitants of Tanna,” says Forster, “have on their arms and bellies elevated scars, representing flowers, stars, and various other figures. They are made by first cutting the skin with a sharp bamboo reed, and then applying a certain plant to the wound, which raises the scar above the rest of the skin. The inhabitants of Tayovan or Formosa, by a very painful operation, express on their naked skins various figures of trees, flowers, and animals. The great men in Guinea have their skins flowered like damask. And in Decan, the women likewise have flowers cut into their flesh on the forehead, the arms, and the breasts, and the elevated scars are painted in colours, and exhibit the appearance of flowered damask.” Again,

“The inhabitants of Mallicolo and Tanna wore a cylindrical stone in the *septum narium*; and the same part was found perforated, in the natives of New Holland, by Mr. Banks and Captain Cook; but instead of

a small stone, a bone of a bird, five or six inches long, and nearly as thick as a man's finger, was thrust into the hole. And Dampier observed, likewise, in the men of New Britain, such long sticks thrust into the hole of the gristle between the nostrils."*

Both of the practices alluded to above—that of making “cuttings in the flesh,” and the printing of marks upon the body, or tattooing—appear to have been of the highest antiquity, for they were both prohibited to the ancient Israelites, along with various other apparently indifferent, but heathenish practices, in the Mosaic Law. “*Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord.*” —Levit. xix. 28.

In the second place, we are warranted to conclude, from the phenomena presented in the existence and diffusion of the Papuan race, that they were the first portion of the family of man that reached the South-eastern extremity of Asia, and peopled the multitude of the isles of the Indian Archipelago; which they appear to have done by passing successively, in the course of ages, from island to island, Northward, Eastward, and Southward, as the spirit of adventure—or accident, in the case of unexpected storms at sea—or the event of war, compelling the vanquished to take to their boats, to save themselves from an indiscriminate massacre on shore, had gradually led to the discovery and occupation of another and another new land. The North-westerly monsoon, which prevails for six months every year in the Indian seas, and extends far to the Eastward, would, doubtless, accelerate the process, and spread these primitive navigators over the numberless islands of the Western Pacific, as well as over those of the Archipelago.

There is reason to believe, indeed, that the Papuan race had at one time spread itself over a considerable portion of continental India, but that the gradual advance of a more powerful race from the Westward

* Observations, &c., p. 589.

had either driven them Eastward, towards the Peninsula of Malacca, or swallowed them up completely, as a distinct race, in the course of a few generations. The remnants of the race, found in the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, and in the mountainous region of Mongheir, in Central India, render this supposition highly probable. Perhaps even their original retreat to the islands of the Archipelago, and their general adoption of the habits and pursuits of a maritime people, *which it is natural for islanders to become*, was the result of necessity, from the pressure of the more numerous and powerful tribes advancing from the westward.

The gradual disappearance and ultimate extinction of the primitive civilization—such as it was—of the Papuan race in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, after they had been subdued, and dispossessed and driven to the mountains, by a more civilized and powerful race from the westward, appears to me to be by no means a strange and unprecedented phenomenon. On the contrary, it is exactly what we behold almost everywhere in the Continent of America. Besides, we have no record of the struggles which these Islanders, (whose congeners in other lands are still undoubtedly a brave people) in all likelihood maintained for a time with their more powerful invaders for the preservation of their country—for their freedom and their independence. All that has come down to us is the fact, that they were ultimately vanquished in battle, and dispossessed of their once happy homes, and that the feeble remnants of their race were driven, dispirited, to the mountains, and there forced to become wild men. And I maintain, that it is quite in accordance with the usual phenomena of human nature, that a mode of life which was thus adopted at first from dire necessity, should, in process of time, have become a matter of choice, and be persevered in with an obstinacy that resists every attempt from without to induce them to change it for what *we* consider a nobler and a better.

In the third place, we are warranted from the phe-

nomena presented in the existence and diffusion of the Papuan race, to claim for that race the highest possible antiquity reconcilable with the post-diluvian history of man. It is universally allowed that this race formed the aboriginal population of the Indian Archipelago, and in all probability it had been in the occupation and possession of these islands for a whole series of ages before their conquest by the fair race from the westward. But this later race has not only spread itself over the entire Archipelago, but over the vast extent of the boundless Pacific from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, and from the latter island to Easter island, within 600 leagues of the American land; if it has not also discovered and settled the vast continent of America itself from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn. Such extensive migrations, however, like the phenomena of geology, imply "Time, time, time!" although by no means a time long anterior to the period of history—to the age of Abraham, or the destruction of Troy.

The phenomena of language warrant the same conclusion. These are of two kinds. In the *first* place, the Malayan language, which is evidently a cognate language with that of the different Polynesian nations of the fairer race, exhibits evidences of two distinct and foreign infusions—on the one hand an Arabic or recent infusion originating in Mahomedan ascendancy in the East; and on the other, a much earlier or Sanscrit infusion referable to the times when the great nation who spoke that ancient tongue had extended their language and institutions to the limits of the Eastern world. But as the Polynesian language exhibits no trace of either of these infusions, it is reasonable to conclude that the forefathers of the Polynesian nation who succeeded and dispossessed the Papuans in the Indian Isles, had been broken off from the great family of Asiatic nations, long anterior to the rise and prevalence of the Sanscrit language and institutions in the East.*

* Buddhism appears to have been at one time universally prevalent in India, but the Sanscrit language, and the Institutions

The *second* class of phenomena to which I have alluded, is the one alluded to by Von Martius in the Brazils—the amazing diversity of languages among the aboriginal tribes of that country. This phenomenon is truly wonderful, and implies, much more than the mere extent of country which the race has traversed and occupied, the lapse of long ages for its production. At all events it laughs to scorn the folly of those idle enthusiasts who would attempt to trace the peopling of America to the supposed flight of a large company of fugitives across Behring's Straits, from before the conquering hordes of Zenghis, or to the dispersion of the Armada of Kublai Khan.* Even supposing

of Brahminism, which seem to have travelled along with it from the westward, eventually swept it away. The following passage is the testimony of a recent French traveller to this fact. It is interesting on another account, as it expresses the sentiments of an intelligent Roman Catholic in regard to a form of worship somewhat similar to his own :—

“The Great Lama of Kanawer has the Episcopal mitre and crosier. He is habited like our Prelates, and a superficial observer would, at a distance, mistake his Tibetan or Buddhist mass for a Roman mass, and one of the most orthodox. He makes a score of genuflexions at different intervals ; turns to the altar and people alternately, rings a bell, drinks out of a cup of water which an acolyte pours out for him ; mumbles pater-nosters to the same tune ;—in short *there is disgusting resemblance in every point*. Some men will see in this nothing but a corruption of Christianity. Nevertheless it is incôtestable that *Buddhism, now confined to the north of the Himalaya, the east of the Burrampooter, and to some islands of the Indian Archipelago, preceded, in India, the worship of Brahma*. It still partially existed there at the period of the invasion of the first Affghan conquerors, who proved, like the Spaniards in America, that persecution, in spite of the proverb, is no feeble engine of religious conversion.”†

* The ancient Mexicans and Peruvians seem to be descended from those nations whom Kublai Khan sent to conquer Japan, and who were dispersed by a dreadful storm, and it is probable that some of them were thrown upon the coast of America, and there formed those two great empires. The Greenlanders and

† Letters from India, describing a Journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and Cashmere, &c., by VICTOR JACQUEMONT, Travelling Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris.—2 vols. London, 1835. Vol. i page 297.

that these fugitives could have occupied the whole extent of that Continent in the comparatively short period that has elapsed since the era of either of these mighty Tartars, it is not conceivable that in so short a period they could have originated the vast number of native languages that are still spoken in America. Such a phenomenon requires for its production not merely hundreds but thousands of years. The tendency to the formation of a great diversity of languages in such a country as America—where there are necessarily great differences of soil, climate, productions, and modes of life, as well as great fluctuations in society from extensive migrations, wars, conquests, &c.—must be incomparably stronger than in the small communities of the South Sea Islands, where the soil, climate, and productions are nearly of the same character throughout, and where each little society has been isolated for ages from every other. Hence, the differences of language in the latter case are merely dialectic, and not to be compared with those either of America or of New Holland. For the same reason, doubtless, the Celtic language has been preserved in comparative purity in the mountains of Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, from the period of the Romans until the present day, while every trace of that language has disappeared from the plains under the successive irruptions and conquests of the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. But whatever period the phenomena of language may compel us to assign for the original migration of the forefathers of the Polynesian and Indo-American races from South Eastern Asia, it is unquestionable that the Papuan race were at that pe-

Esquimaux in the very North of America, came later into that Continent than any of the other American nations (the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted) for they are reckoned to be a foreign tribe, and they appear to be of a different race of men, by the language, the dress, the features, size, form, and habit of body and manners: probably they came from some of the numerous isles which form the connexion between America and Asia.—*Forster's Observations, &c.*, p. 316.

riod the undisputed lords of the Isles of the East. It is easy to see how and why the latter race could advance no farther eastward than the Western Pacific; for so soon as they were overtaken by the lighter race, their further progress in that direction would be effectually checked.

Independently, however, of this secondary evidence of the great antiquity of the Papuan race, the gradual dispersion of that race over the vast continental island of New Holland, and the island of Van Dieman's Land, and the formation of the numberless languages that have been spoken, or are still spoken in these extensive regions, as well as in the Papuan Isles of the Western Pacific, imply a series of ages that cannot be numbered by hundreds, but by thousands of years. When the Rev. Mr. Schmidt was on his journey to the Bunya-Bunya country, the escort of Aborigines who accompanied him consisted of natives of five different tribes, of whom those living at the greatest distances from each other could hold no communication together except through the natives of the intermediate tribes. In Van Dieman's Land, an island not quite so large as Ireland, there were not fewer than four distinct nations speaking four different languages, in some of which the words for the commonest objects, such as fire and water, were totally distinct from those used to designate the same objects in the others. Such a multiplicity and diversity of languages is evidently not the work of a few centuries, but of tens of centuries.*

* It was with some surprise that I saw the natives of the east coast of New South Wales so nearly portrayed in those of the South-western extremity of New Holland. These do not, indeed, extract one of the upper front-teeth at the age of puberty, as is generally practised at Port Jackson, nor do they make use of the *wome-rah*, or throwing-stick; but their colour, the texture of the hair and personal appearance are the same; their songs run in the same cadence; the manner of painting themselves is similar; their belts and fillets of hair are made in the same way, and worn in the same manner. The short skin cloak, which is of kangaroo skin, and worn over the shoulders, leaving the rest of the body

I was not aware, until after these observations were written, that Sir Thomas Mitchell entertained a similar opinion to the one to which I have given expression, as to the high antiquity of the Papuan race in Australia. It is expressed quite incidentally, after describing an ingenious net for catching water-fowl, which he had found stretched across the Lower Murray. The passage I allude to is as follows: "As these natives possess but little besides what is essentially necessary to their existence, we may conclude that they have used spears for killing the kangaroo, stone axes for cutting out the opossum, and nets for catching birds, or kangaroos, or fish, since the earliest ages in Australia. Almost any specimen of art they possess is the result of necessity (the mother of invention.) Perhaps the iron tomahawk is the only important addition made to their implements DURING THE LAST THREE OR FOUR THOUSAND YEARS."* Sir Thomas was evidently of opinion that the phenomena of their dispersion, as well as of the num-

naked, is more in the manner of the wood natives living at the back of Port Jackson, than of those who inhabit the sea coast. * * * Notwithstanding the similarity of person and manner to the inhabitants of Port Jackson, the language of these people is very different.—FLINDERS' Voyage to Terra Australis, vol. i. 66.

The negro races who inhabit the mountains of the Malayan peninsula, in the lowest and most abject state of social existence, though numerically few, are divided into a great many distinct tribes, speaking as many different languages. Among the rude and scattered population of the Island of Timor, it is believed that not less than forty languages are spoken. On Eude and Flores we have also a multiplicity of languages; and among the cannibal population of Borneo, it is not improbable that many hundreds are spoken. Civilization advances as we proceed westward; and in the considerable island of Sambawa, there are but five tongues; in the civilized portion of Celebes, not more than four; in the great island of Sumatra not above six, and in Java but two.—CRAWFORD'S Hist. Ind. Archipelago, vol. ii., p. 79.

* Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. By Sir T. L. Mitchell, &c., &c., Surveyor-General of New South Wales. II. 153.

berless dialects of the Aborigines, could not be accounted for on the supposition of their having come into Australia within a shorter period than *three or four thousand years ago*. For my own part, I do not ask for a higher antiquity for them.

But how, it may be asked, has the New Hollander so completely lost the supposed civilization of his remote progenitors, limited and feeble though it was? How has he completely lost their superior skill in navigation; how has he ceased entirely to be a cultivator of the soil? To this it may be answered, that the first art of civilization of which an islander in a comparatively low state of advancement, who becomes the inhabitant of a continent, loses the knowledge, is the art of navigation, as the boundless extent of the land leaves him no further inducement to tempt the sea. The African negro, for instance, is no sailor; neither is the Indian of America in any part of that continent. In regard to the other branch of this question, it follows from the course which the Papuan race has evidently taken in its eastward progress from the continent of Asia, that it must have originally reached the coast of New Holland from the northward—probably from New Guinea, from Timor, or from some other island still farther to the northward. A few hapless individuals who had in all probability been overtaken by an unexpected tempest, when passing on one of their short voyages from one well-known island to another in the Archipelago, and been driven far beyond their reckoning into an unknown sea, had, after extreme suffering and privations, reached the shores of the unknown land. This, we have every reason to believe, was the way in which the coast of New Holland was first discovered, was first trodden by the foot of man.*

* It is particularly worthy of observation, that the Aborigines of that portion of the northern coast of New Holland which, on my hypothesis, must have been the first reached and inhabited by man, still construct their canoes in a much superior style to those of any other tribe of natives that has hitherto been observed on

Now what could such individuals do in such circumstances? Would they tempt the ocean again, to meet the death from which they had so miraculously escaped, and without knowing whither to steer their course? This

all the other coasts of Australia. Whether the island from which the first sable Columbus and his party found their way to the unknown land, was as far to the westward in the Indian Archipelago as Timor—from which a north-westerly monsoon blows in the direction of north-eastern Australia six months every year, and which is only about 250 miles distant altogether—or as far to the eastward as New Guinea, from which the passage across would be much easier, as there are islands intervening, the landing must in all likelihood have taken place somewhere between Melville Island or Port Essington to the westward, and Cape York to the eastward of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Now at Port Essington, and at Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Captain King found the native canoes constructed of a single sheet of bark, (with short cross-pieces at the bottom within, to preserve the shape and increase the strength of the vessel,) and *measuring not less than eighteen feet in length by two in width, and capable of containing as many as eight persons, being neatly and even tastefully constructed.* And at Bloomfield Rivulet, at Endeavour River and Cape Tribulation, near the northern extremity of the land on the east coast, the canoes seen by the same navigator were *each hollowed out of a tree, and of a different construction from any previously found.* Now these must have been respectable vessels, compared with the miserable bark canoes used by the natives on all the other coasts of the vast island, as well as in any part of the interior hitherto discovered; and it would be quite practicable, at any time during the prevalence of the north-westerly monsoon, for a canoe of the description and dimensions first mentioned to perform the voyage from Timor to New Holland. A large fishing canoe of this description, driven unexpectedly to sea from the south-eastern coast of the former of these islands, may have peopled all Australia and Van Dieman's Land.

It is not at all necessary to suppose that the Aborigines of Australia who migrated to the southward, had retained their ancient knowledge of navigation, from the fact of their having crossed over Bass' Straits, when they reached the southern extremity of the larger island, and peopled Van Dieman's Land; for the islands in mid-channel in the Straits are visible from the high land near Wilson's Promontory, the southern extremity of the mainland, and the passage from thence would be comparatively easy to the opposite shore. But this supposition probably taxes the native intellect and enterprise to a much greater extent than is absolutely necessary; for it appears to me extremely probable

were exceedingly improbable; and in all likelihood, therefore, they would just endeavour to reconcile themselves to their new situation, by doing their best to provide themselves with the means of subsistence in their new-found

that the extent of land in Bass' Straits was much greater fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago, and the passage across to Van Dieman's Land consequently much easier for an Aboriginal navigator than at present. There are soundings the whole way across, and the prevalence of strong westerly winds for at least eight months every year, and the consequent rush of waters to the eastward from the Great Southern Ocean through the Straits, are evidently and rapidly disintegrating and wasting away the existing land in that locality. The island of Rodoulo, in particular, on the northern side of the Straits, exhibits this process in a remarkable degree. It is a mere sugar-loaf, rising to a height of several hundred feet out of the water, but showing, in the character of the precipitous cliffs which it everywhere presents to the sea, that it must at one time have been of much greater extent than it is now.

Besides, there are the strongest evidences of volcanic action along the southern coast of New Holland, for five hundred miles to the westward from Cape Howe; and it is not improbable that in one or other of those mighty revolutions of nature, of which that whole extent of country must at one time have been the scene, a large extent of land may have been submerged in the region of Bass' Straits, and the southern extremity of the ancient continent cut off from the mainland, and formed into a separate island. The poet Virgil informs us, on the authority of an ancient tradition, that a convulsion of this kind separated the island of Sicily from the mainland of Italy, of which it once formed a part, and produced the Straits of Messina.

"Haec loca vi quondam, et vasta convulsa ruina
(*Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare retustas*)
Dissiluisse ferunt, quum protenus utraque tellus
Una foret: venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Litore deductas angusto interluit aestu."

VIRG. ÆNEID, Lib. III.

Only substitute Australia for Italy, Van Dieman's Land for Sicily, and Bass' Straits for the Straits of Messina, and this description will in all likelihood be as true in the one case as it is in the other. By the way, from the line I have marked with italics, Virgil might almost be taken for a modern Geologist of the Lyell school.

land. Supposing, then, that they had even been previously well acquainted with the cultivation of certain plants and roots and grain in their native isle, of what avail could this knowledge have been to them in a country on whose inhospitable coast there were no such fruits or roots or grain to cultivate? * Supposing that they had previously had several species of domesticated animals—the sheep, the goat, the buffalo-cow, the horse, and the different varieties of poultry known in the Archipelago—of what avail would the recollection of all this be to them in a country in which there were no such animals to domesticate? We know well what has happened to Englishmen, with all the lights and civilization of the nineteenth century, who have irrecoverably lost their way in the woods of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land—they have invariably perished of hunger! And are the Aborigines of Australia to be set down as a radically and hopelessly inferior race, merely because they have not only managed to subsist, it may be for three or four thousand years, but to rear an infinity of tribes, speaking an infinity of languages, where Englishmen, in precisely similar circumstances, uniformly perish of hunger? It is unjust, in every sense of the word, to measure the unfortunate New Hollander by a European, standard of civilization: for what, I ask, would the European have been for the last three or four thousand years, without those fruits and roots and vegetables and grain, without those domesticated animals, upon the possession of which, humanly speaking, the whole superstructure

* The indigenous vegetation even of the fertile island of Sicily, so long the granary of Rome, is represented by the poet Virgil as affording but a miserable substitute for the food of civilized man:—

“*Victum infelicem, baccas lapidosaque corna
Dant rami, et volsis pascunt radicibus herbae.*”

ÆNEID III. 650.

Which a Scottish poet somewhat characteristically translates—

“O dule an' sair! there's nocht to fill their mawes,
But arnotts, blaeberrics, an' hippes an' hawes!”

of his boasted civilization depends? The criterion by which we are to estimate the intellectual capacity and resources of the black native of Australia, is to ascertain what he has done in the very peculiar circumstances in which he has been placed; and on this point I am happy to be able to avail myself once more of the experience and observation of a highly competent observer, Dr. Leichhardt, the Australian traveller. The following is an extract of one of the interesting letters of that gentleman, to his friend Mr. Lynd, of Sydney, on the Aborigines:—

The black-fellow, in his natural state, and not yet contaminated or irritated by the white man, is hospitable and not at all devoid of kind feelings. We had a striking instance of the honesty of these men. A native dog which they had tamed, came during our absence and took our meat provisions. When we returned, one of the black-fellows came and brought back a piece of bacon and the cloth in which it was. The ham had been devoured by the dog, but the black brought even the bones which still remained. For about three figs of tobacco they provided us two days with oysters and crabs. They are a fine race of men, tall and well made, and their bodies, individually, as well as the groups which they formed, would have delighted the eye of an artist. Is it fancy? but I am far more pleased in seeing the naked body of the black-fellow than that of the white man. It is the white colour, or I do not know what, which is less agreeable to the eye. When I was in Paris, I was often in the public baths in the Seine, and how few well made men did I see! There is little fat in the black-fellow, but his muscles are equally developed and their play appears on every part of the body, particularly on the back, when you are walking behind him and he is carrying something on his head. The Bunya Black, who lives on the food which the brushes yield to him, is shorter but sturdy and thickly set. As much as I was able to observe, there is nothing in the nature in which they live which they have not discovered. They make fine baskets of the leaf of *Xerotes*, and ropes and nets of the bark of *Hibiscus*: they make vessels of the sheath of the leaf of *Seaforthia*, or hollow out pieces of wood. They are quite as particular about the material of their woomerangs, their spears, nullah-nullahs, and helimans, as a European artist. They make little canoes of the Stringybark tree, which they call *Dibil palam*. Some of their discoveries are very singular. They prepare for food, for instance, the tubers and the stem of *Calladium*, which is so hot that the smallest bit chewed will produce a violent inflammation and swelling. How is it that they were not frightened by the first feeling of pain, but

went on experimenting? Some particular circumstances must have assisted them in this discovery. Their resources for obtaining food are extremely various. They seem to have tasted everything, from the highest top of the Bunya tree and the Sea-forthia and cabbage palm, to the grub which lies in the rotten tree of the brush, or feeds on the lower stem or root of the Xanthorrhæa. By the bye, I tasted this grub, and it tastes very well, particularly in chewing the skin, which contains much fat. It has a very nutty taste, which is impaired, however, by that of the rotten wood upon which the animal lives. They are well aware that this grub changes into a beetle, resembling the cockchafer, and that another transforms into a moth. Particularly agreeable to them is the honey with which the little stingless native bee provides them amply. You have no idea of the number of bees' nests which exist in this country. My black-fellow, who accompanies me at present, finds generally three or four of them daily, and would find many more if I gave him full time to look for them. They do not find these nests as the black-fellows in Liverpool Plains; *they do not attach a down to the legs of the little animal*; but their sharp eye discovers the little animals flying in and out the opening—even sixty and more feet high. “Me millmill bull,” (I see a bee’s nest) he exclaims, and, so saying, he puts off his shirt, takes the tomahawk, and up he goes. If in a branch, he cuts off the tree and enjoys the honey on the ground. Is it in the body of the tree, he taps at first with the tomahawk to know the real position, and then he opens the nest. The honey is sweet, but a little pungent. There is, besides the honey, a kind of dry bee-bread, like gingerbread, which is very nourishing. The part in which the grub lives is very acid. The black-fellow destroys every swarm of which he takes the honey. It is impossible for him to save the young brood.

The practice in regard to catching bees, alluded to by Dr. Leichhardt, is thus described by Sir Thomas Mitchell:—

We were now [in the valley of the Bogan River, to the westward of the Blue Mountains] in a “land flowing with honey,” for the natives with their new tomahawks extracted it in abundance from the hollow branches of the trees, and it seemed that, in the season, they could find it almost everywhere. To such inexpert clowns, as they probably thought us, the honey and the bees were inaccessible, and indeed invisible, save only when the natives cut it out, and brought it to us in little sheets of bark, thus displaying a degree of ingenuity and skill in supplying their wants, which we, with all our science, could not hope to attain. *They would catch one of the bees, and attach to it, with some resin or gum, the light down of the swan or owl; thus laden, the bee would make for the branch of some lofty tree, and so betray its home of*

sweets to its keen-eyed pursuers, whose bee-chase presented indeed a laughable scene.—I. 171.

The following is the account given by Sir Thomas Mitchell of the nets manufactured by the Aborigines:—

The natives had left in one place [on the lower Hume River] a net overhanging the river, being suspended between two lofty trees, evidently for the purpose of catching ducks and other waterfowl. The meshes were about two inches wide, and the net hung down to within about five feet of the water. In order to obtain waterfowl with this net, it is customary for some of the natives to proceed up, and others down the river, in order to scare the birds from their places; and when any flight of them comes into the net, it is suddenly lowered into the water, thus entangling the birds beneath until the natives go into the water and secure them. Among the few specimens of art to be found in use with the primitive inhabitants of these wilds, none came so near our own manufacture as the net, which, even in quality, as well as in the mode of knotting, could scarcely be distinguished from our own.—II. 153.

In the course of his examination before the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines, Dr. Polding, the Romish Archbishop, informed the Committee that the two Italian Missionaries he had stationed at Dunwich were endeavouring to teach the natives useful arts, and in particular an improved mode of catching fish, for which purpose he had provided them with a seine. Whether they were likely to be much benefited in this way the reader will be able to judge for himself from the following notices of their ability as fishermen by Sir T. Mitchell:—

No fish could be caught this day, and we supposed that the natives were busy taking them, above and below our camp, for, in their mode of fishing, few can escape. We had previously seen the osier nettings erected by them across the various currents, and especially in the Gwydir, where some were seen of very neat workmanship. The frames of these were as well squared as if they had been the work of a carpenter, and into these frames twigs were inserted at regular intervals, so as to form, by crossing each other, a strong and efficient kind of net or snare. Where these were erected, a small opening was left towards the middle of the current, probably that some sort of bag or netting might be applied there to receive the fish, while the natives in the river above should drive them towards this netting.—I. 100.

These tribes inhabiting the banks of the Darling may be considered Ichthyophagi, in the strictest sense, and their mode of fishing was really an interesting sight. There was an unusually deep and broad reach of the river opposite to our camp, and it appeared that they fished daily in different portions of it, in the following manner:—The king stood erect in his bark canoe, while nine young men, with short spears, went up the river, and as many down the river, until, at a signal from him, all dived into it, and returned towards him, alternately swimming and diving; these divers transfixing the fish under water, and throwing them on the bank. Others on the river brink speared the fish when thus enclosed, as they appeared among the weeds, in which small openings were purposely made to attract them. In this manner they speared with astonishing despatch some enormous cod (Peel's perch), but the largest were struck by the chief from his canoe, with a long barbed spear. After a short time the young men in the water were relieved by an equal number, upon which they came out shivering, the weather being very cold, to warm themselves in the centre of a circular fire, kept up by the *gins* on the bank. The death of the fish in their practised hands was almost instantaneous, and caused by merely holding by the tail, with the gills immersed.—I. 266.

Unlike the natives on the Darling, these inhabitants of the banks of the Bogan subsist more on the opossum, kangaroo, and emu, than on the fish of their river. *Here* fishing is left entirely to the *gins*, who drag every hole in a very simple and effectual manner, by pushing before them, from one end of the pond to the other, a movable dam of long twisted dry grass, through which the water only can pass, while *all* the fish remain and are caught. Thus not a fish escapes; and when at the holes where any tribe had recently been, when my men began to fish, any natives near would laugh most heartily at the hopeless attempt.—I. 332.

In regard to the colour of the Papuan race, there is reason to believe that in their progress to the eastward from the earlier post-diluvian settlements of the human race, they had crossed the continent of Asia in a comparatively low latitude, and had been exposed, perhaps for several successive generations, to the influence of that Indian climate which dyes the skin of the Hindoo a jet black. The lighter-coloured Polynesian race, however, and the Indo-Chinese family of nations to which it seems to have been originally allied, appear to have crossed the Asiatic Continent, in their progress to the eastward, in a much higher latitude, where that peculiar influence of climate is not perceptible. Professor Blumenbach has observed, that the

colour of the skin and the character of the hair are accidental circumstances, and not to be taken as the foundation of varieties of the human species. They seem indeed to be owing to certain inexplicable climatic influences peculiar to certain regions of the earth, and independent in great measure of mere vicinity to the Equator; for while the lighter-coloured Polynesian race retains its comparatively fair complexion under the Line, it is well known that the Jews and the Portuguese who have been for several generations in India, are as black as the Hindoos, while Burckhardt informs us, in the passage already quoted from his *Travels in Nubia*, that the Shegyia Arabs in that country, although retaining the Arab countenance, and the long hair of that nation, are as black as the negroes.

In writing on this subject, however, Dr. Prichard, who has written so ably, and at such length on the natural history of man, has been betrayed into a slight inaccuracy, which it is important for the interests of truth generally, and particularly of revealed truth, to correct. Speaking of the two races in the Pacific, Dr. P. observes, "In neither case can we perceive any traces of the influence of climate. The latter race (the Papuan) scattered in various parts of the vast island of New Holland, which has such variety of temperature, everywhere retains its black colour, although the climate at the English settlements is not much unlike that of England, and in Van Dieman's Land, extending to 45° South latitude (it is well understood that the cold is much more severe in the Southern Hemisphere, at an equal distance from the Equator than in the Northern) they are of a deep black colour, and have curled hair like the negroes."*

Now, although it is neither strange nor unaccountable that when once the human skin has acquired a sable hue under those peculiar and inexplicable cli-

* Dr. Prichard's *Inaugural Disputation on the varieties of the Human Species*, p. 89.

matic influences to which I have adverted, the dark colour should not only be indelible, but be transmitted, under every variety of climate, to the latest posterity of the individual, it is not the fact that "we can perceive no traces of the influence of climate" in the colour of the Aborigines of Australia. On the contrary, such traces are evident and indubitable; for whereas the natives of Moreton Bay are as black as the Mandingo negroes, those of the Southern coast, at Portland Bay, at King George's Sound near Cape Leeuwin, at Melbourne, and on the Murray River, nearly ten degrees farther South, are rather of a copper colour than jet black. I have seen pure-blooded Portuguese in the Brazils quite as black as many of these Southern natives; and Sir Thomas Mitchell, the discoverer of Australia Felix, fancied that he could even detect red cheeks in a sable beauty of that part of the territory.* In short, having had occasion to visit these Southern regions almost immediately after my return from Moreton Bay, I was particularly struck with the influence of climate as evidenced in the remarkable difference apparent in the colour of the Aborigines of that part of the Colony as compared with those of the far North; and I felt myself constrained, from the evidence of my own senses, to conclude, that the black colour which they have borne, perhaps for thousands of years, was nevertheless not the original colour of the Papuan race.

* There were two daughters of the gin that had been killed, who were pointed out sitting in the group then before me, together with a little boy, a son. The girls bore an exact resemblance to each other, and at once reminded me of the mother. The youngest was the handsomest female I had ever seen amongst the natives. She was so far from black, that the red colour was very apparent in her cheeks.†—Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c., by Sir T. L. MITCHELL, F.G.S. and M.R.G.S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, vol. ii. page 93.

† This was on the Lower Murray, near the mouth of the Darling.

“The colour of the human body,” observes Dr. Forster, “depends, no doubt, upon these three great causes : 1st, exposure to the air ; 2d, the influence of the sun ; and 3d, some particular circumstances in the mode of living. From the best inquiries set on foot by anatomists, it appears that all the difference of colour lies in the human skin, and especially in the outer integument called the *cuticle* ; which again is considered by them under the two denominations of *Epidermis* and *Malpighi’s reticular membrane*. In white people, the Epidermis is a very thin, pellucid, indurated lamella, transmitting the colour of the reticular membrane immediately lying under it, which is a white, or colourless, viscid or slimy substance. Whatever colour the substance has which is immediately under the Epidermis, that colour appears and becomes visible to the eye. The blood, suddenly mounting into the blood-vessels of the face, tinges the same with a vermilion blush. The blood being coloured by the extravasated bile causes the yellowish colour of the jaundice. The yellow lymph deposited in the cutaneous vascula, imparts the yellow tint of those who, in the West Indies, are afflicted with the yellow fever. The tattooing of the Otaheitans, and gunpowder accidentally forced into the skin, forms a black or blueish appearance. And in negroes the late ingenious Mr. Meckel discovered the reticulum of Malpighi to be black.” And again,

“The Epidermis admits the beams of the sun and the action of the air in colouring the *reticulum mucosum* brown—but whenever it is coloured, nothing is sufficiently powerful to extract the brown colour, and this seems to be founded in daily experience ; a man being perhaps only one day exposed to a powerful sun shall become strongly tinted with brown, when to remove this hue perhaps six or eight months of close confinement are not sufficient.”*

It is ridiculous to tell us, in alleged proof of the radical and original distinction of the white and black

* Forster’s Observations, &c., pp. 259 and 275.

racés, that Europeans do not get black notwithstanding a protracted residence either in India or Africa. Are Europeans, it may well be asked in reply, ever exposed to the sun and the other influences of climate in these countries, as the Papuan race have uniformly been within the Tropics—having their naked bodies exposed to the heavens for many successive generations? It is surely not a matter of wonder that different causes do not produce like effects.

From certain peculiarities in their manners and customs, and especially from their general practice of cannibalism in one of its most remarkable forms, I am strongly inclined to believe that the Papuan race is part of that great family of nations which was known to the ancients under the generic name of Scythians, and which derived both its name and its origin from Cush, or Cuth, the eldest son of Ham, the son of Noah. After informing us that the descendants of Japheth had directed their course from the original settlements of the human race, after the Deluge, to the north-westward, and peopled Europe and the coasts of the Mediterranean or “the Isles of the Gentiles,” the Sacred Writer proceeds to inform us as follows of the distribution and migrations of the descendants of Ham:—“And the sons of Ham; *Cush* and Mizraim, and Phut and Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba and Havilah, and Sabtah, and *Raamah*, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Shebah and Dedan. And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. *Out of that land went forth Asshur*, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city.” Gen. x. 6-12. From this it is evident not only that the family of Cush established the most ancient of the post-diluvian kingdoms in the territory which has since been called Babylonia, but that a portion of this family,

branching off from the parent settlement, directed their course to the eastward. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the course of emigration in the post-diluvian world was principally to the eastward, and the comparatively dense population and superior civilization of the nations of India and China in an early period of the history of man, are proof positive of the fact. But the progress of emigration and civilization in the ancient world was, in all likelihood, much the same in its character and circumstances as it is in the modern—the main body of agricultural emigrants, mechanics, and townspeople would be preceded by a light infantry of trappers and backwoodsmen, or squatters, deriving their subsistence partly from the chase and partly from a limited and occasional cultivation. Now, if the Papuan race, as a branch of the great family of Cush, occupied this position, as the vanguard of emigration to the eastward in the ancient world, and was constantly pushed forward by the constantly-increasing pressure from behind, its earlier arrival at the south-eastern extremity of Asia, its peculiar condition at that period, as being in a lower and feebler state of civilization, and its consequent inability to withstand the irruption of a more advanced race, will be all easily explicable.

The following passage from the learned pen of Sir William Jones, is in remarkable accordance with the views I have just given in regard both to the source and the cause of ancient emigration, as well as in regard to the time and manner in which the stream of population was originally directed, from the earliest post-diluvian settlements of the human race, towards the Indian Archipelago, Australia, Polynesia and America. I confess I am strongly of opinion, that the Aborigines of *all* these countries are of the race of Ham :—

“Hence it seems to follow that the only family after the flood established themselves in the northern part of Iran,” (the Asiatic name for Asia to the westward of the Indus ;) “that as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each

retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas ; that the branch of Yafet extended in many scattered shoots over the North of Europe and Asia, diffusing themselves as far as the Western and Eastern Seas, and at length in the infancy of navigation beyond them both ; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects as their tribes were variously ramified ; that, secondly, the children of Ham, who founded in Iran itself the first monarchy of Chaldeans, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known Indian period of 432,000 years, or 120 repetitions of the Saros ; that they were dispersed at various intervals, and in various colonies, over land and ocean ; that the tribes of MESA, CUSH and RAMA, (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the *Hindoos*,) settled in Africk and India ; while some of these, having improved the art of sailing, passed from Egypt, Phoenice and Phrygia, into Italy and Greece ; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another by the head of the Oxus, and through the passes of Imaus into Cashgar and Esghir, Khatr and Khoten, as far as the Territories of Chin and Tancut, where letters have been immemorially used, and arts cultivated ; nor is it unreasonable to believe that some of them found their way from the Eastern Islands into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology analogous to those of Egypt and India ; that, thirdly, the old Chaldean empire being overthrown by Cayumers, other migrations took place ; especially into India, while the rest of Shem's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red seas, peopled the whole Arabian peninsula, pressing close on the nations of Syria and Phoenice ; that, lastly, from all the three families many adventurers were detached, who settled in distant islands or deserts, and mountainous regions ; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of Noah, but that States and Empires could scarcely have assumed a regular form till 1500 or 1600 years before the Christian epoch ; and that for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished nation descended from Abraham.*

In the preliminary dissertation prefixed to his translation of the Koran of Mahomet, the learned Mr. Sale informs us, that “The country called *Cush* in Scripture does not appear to have been Ethiopia, as the

* Life of Sir William Jones by Lord Teignmouth, p. 385.

word is translated in our version. It was rather a tract of country extending along the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, now called *Chuzestan* or *Susiana*; from whence probably *Shushan* is derived, the name of the capital of the Persian monarchs in the days of Ezra." It is evident, therefore, that the great starting point of post-diluvian emigration was far to the eastward; and as Raamah, one of the sons of Cush, is unquestionably the god Ram of Indian, or rather Buddhist mythology, there is proof positive of a great Cushite emigration to the eastward having been directed from that starting point in the very infancy of the human race.

The learned Jacob Bryant, who, notwithstanding his many singular fancies, has struck out not a few lights that serve to illumine the darkness of antiquity, informs us that Cush, the son of Ham, was styled by his descendants, the Babylonians and Chaldeans, Cuth, their country being styled Cutha and its inhabitants Cuthites or Cuthaeans. These words commencing with a strong guttural or aspirate became, in the mouths of the Greeks, *Σκυθα* or *Σκυθια* and *Σκυθιοι*, Scythia and Scythians, on the same principle as *ἄλγῃ*, *ἐρπω*, *ἔπτα* and *ἄλς* in Greek, became *sylva*, *serpo*, *septem* and *sal*, in Latin. This is evident from the following passage, which he quotes from the treatise of *Epiphanus, adversus Haeres.* *Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κλίματος κ. τ. λ.* "Those nations which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other and are connected, were universally styled Scythae (Scythians,) according to an appellation of long standing. These were of that family who of old erected the great tower and who built the city Babylon." V. 191. Now, it is a singular fact, that the general voice of antiquity charges this most ancient portion of the human family with the practice of that most revolting species of cannibalism, which, we shall find in the sequel, is practised systematically by the Aborigines of Australia, *that of devouring the dead bodies of their relatives and connexions, and doing*

it moreover as an act of piety. And so peculiarly Scythian did the ancients consider this practice, that Mr. Bryant lays it down as a general principle, in regard to the origin of the nations of antiquity, that "all those among whom these customs prevailed may be esteemed Ethiopians. They were all of the Cuthic race; and consequently of Ethiopic original."* The following are some of the testimonies on the subject, adduced by Mr. Bryant.—

Strabo says of the Scythians generally. *Τους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι χαλεπούς, ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρώποφαγιν.* "They are a very savage people, and even practice cannibalism."

Pliny records the fact also in three different passages, in one of which he refers to the religious character and origin of the practice. *Anthropophagi Scythae—humanis corporibus vescuntur*,—"The Scythians are cannibals, and eat the bodies of men." *Esse Scytharum genera, et plurima, quae corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus*,—"We have shown that there are very many tribes of Scythians that eat human bodies." *Scythae sunt Androphagi et Sacae. Indorum quidam nullum animal occidere, nulla carne vesci, optimum existimant. Quidam proximos, parentesque, priusquam annis et aegritudine in maciem eant, velut hostias, caedunt; caesorumque visceribus epulari fas, et maxime pium est*,—"The Scythians and Sacae are men-eaters. Certain of the Indian nations consider it improper to kill any animal, or to eat flesh. Others sacrifice their near connexions and relations, before they become emaciated with sickness and disease, and consider it not only lawful, but *a great act of piety* to feast upon the entrails of those who are thus killed."

Tertullian (*Contra Manichaeos*) repeats the same charge in the following language:—*Parentum cadavera cum pecudibus caesa convivio devorant (scilicet Scythae)* "The Scythians in their banquets devour the bodies of their relations whom they have put to

* *New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology.* Six volumes, London, 1807. Vol. v., p. 218.

death for the purpose, along with those of their sheep and cattle."

In addition to these charges of the ancients against the Scythians, for which I am indebted to Mr. Bryant, I happened to find the following passage, which is still more to the purpose, as exhibiting the practice of the Aborigines of Australia, in Lucian:—

Διελόμενοι κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταφὰς, ὁ μὲν Ἑλλήν ἐκαύσεν, ὁ δὲ Περσῆς ἐθαψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ὑάλῳ περιχρῖει, ὁ δὲ Σκυθῆς κατεσθίει, ταριχεύει δὲ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος. Lucian. Περὶ πειθους.

"Different nations have very different modes of disposing of their dead—the Greeks burn them; the Persians bury them; the Indians anoint them with gums; the Scythians eat them, and the Egyptians embalm them."*

As it is utterly incredible, therefore, that a practice so monstrous in its character, so inexplicable in its origin, and so revolting to the feelings of all other classes and tribes of men, whether savage or civilized, should have arisen independently of each other among

* Diogenes Laertius also informs us to the same effect, that *Θαπτοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίῳι μὲν ταριχεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παιονεῖς δὲ εἰς τὰς λίμνας ριπτοῦντες*.—Pyrrius.

"The Egyptians first embalm, and then bury their dead—the Romans burn them, and the Paeonians throw them into lakes."

Diogenes is scarcely correct, however, in regard to the Romans, at least the more ancient Romans; among whom the dead were either buried or burned, as is evident from the following law of the Twelve Tables, in which the practice of burying, which was probably the more frequent of the two at an earlier period, is mentioned first:—*Hominem mortuum in urbe ne seposito, neve urito*,—"Let no dead body be either buried or burnt within the city." The Paeonian practice has not unfrequently been followed by the Aborigines of New South Wales in regard to the living, in the case of infants. When walking one day with my brother along a beautiful lake on his property in that Colony many years ago, a black woman of rather an agreeable appearance met us, who, my brother told me, before she came up to us, had thrown several of her children into the lake. I immediately asked him how many? and he asked the woman herself, who held up three or four of her fingers to indicate the particular number: and when I asked her, Why she had done so? she replied with the greatest apparent indifference, "Piccaninny too much cry!"

the Papuan race of the South-eastern Hemisphere and the ancient Scythians or Cuthaeans, so far to the westward, there is reason to believe that it had a common origin in both cases, and that the modern Papuans are merely a branch of that most ancient family of nations, or in other words, "descendants of Cush." It is not improbable, indeed, that this practice was one of the superstitions and abominations of the ancient antediluvian world, of which there is reason to believe that not a few were revived and continued, especially in Egypt, among the posterity of Ham.

The following description of the physical character and aspect of the Aborigines of Australia, extracted from the recent Work of that able and enterprising Australian traveller, Mr. Eyre, entitled, *Central Australia*, is in almost every particular so applicable to the natives of Cooksland, that I shall willingly substitute it for any description of my own; the more so indeed as its perfect suitableness to my subject, with only one or two exceptions which I shall state in foot-notes, serves to prove the absolute identity of the race in all parts of the Territory:—

The male is well built and muscular, averaging from five to six feet in height, with proportionate upper and lower extremities. The anterior lobes of the brain are fairly developed, so as to give a facial angle far from being one of the most acute to be found among the black races. The eyes are sunk, the nose is flattened, and the mouth wide. The lips are rather thick, and the teeth generally very perfect and beautiful, though the dental arrangement is sometimes singular, as no difference exists in many between the incisor and canine teeth. The neck is short and sometimes thick, and the heel resembles that of Europeans. The ankles and wrists are frequently small, as are, also, the hands and feet. The latter are well-formed and expanded, but the calves of the legs are generally deficient.* Some of the natives

* The natives of Moreton Bay do not exhibit this remarkable deficiency of the calves of the legs, which forms so striking a characteristic of many tribes to the southward, both on the coast and in the interior. I am satisfied it originates among the latter in a deficiency of food, or in some peculiarity in the mode of living. Perhaps the different methods of ascending trees practised respectively in the Northern and Southern districts, may have some effect on the physical conformation of the arms and limbs of the

in the upper districts of the Murray arc, however, well formed in this respect. In a few instances natives attain to a considerable corpulency. The men have fine broad and deep chests, indicating great bodily strength, and are remarkably erect and upright in their carriage, with much natural grace and dignity of demeanour. The eye is generally large, black, and expressive, with the eye-lashes long. When met for the first time, in his native wilds, there is frequently a fearless intrepidity of manner, and ingenuous openness of look, and a propriety of behaviour, about the aboriginal inhabitant of Australia, which makes his appearance peculiarly prepossessing.

Aborigines in these districts respectively. To the northward, and within the Tropics, where wild vines or parasitical plants of great length, strength, and pliancy are always easily procurable, the natives uniformly ascend trees by means of these vines, inclosing the trunk of the tree and their own body beneath the shoulders in a piece of the vine (of which the two ends are knotted together) of the requisite length to enable the body, when leaning back, to form a considerable angle with the tree. In this position, the vine-cord being extended horizontally, the native, with a sudden jerk, brings up his body close to the tree, and throws up the vine, which he grasps for the purpose with both hands, a foot or two farther up. Then leaning back again upon the vine, and climbing up with his feet along the trunk, he regains his former position, and again repeating the process, mounts the tree with amazing celerity. This practice, *which, in all probability, is the invention of the Papuan race*, is universally practised in the Archipelago and in the South Sea Islands. In the Southern parts of Australia, where wild vines of the requisite strength and pliancy are but rarely procurable, this practice is unknown, and dire necessity, the mother of invention in so many other cases, has led the natives to the discovery of another and not less ingenious method of ascending the loftiest trees, viz. by forming a series of notches in the bark, several feet asunder, and sufficient only to admit the great toe of each foot alternately. By this rude species of accommodation-ladder, which no European could make use of, or even think of making use of without shuddering, the black native ascends trees of amazing girth with perfect confidence, and never fails to find the game he is in quest of, perhaps at the height of seventy feet from the ground. Now it appears to me that the frequent use of the limbs in this way, must render the muscles of the lower extremities much more rigid and sinewy, than the other mode of ascent by the vine, in which there is comparatively little stress upon these muscles. In fact, legs with large calves would not be suitable for the purpose. I may add that the natives of Moreton Bay are generally remarkably athletic and well-proportioned, and far more of them are upwards of five feet eight inches than under that stature.

In the female, the average height is about five feet, or perhaps a little under. The anterior part of the brain is more limited than in the male ; the apex of the head is carried further back ; the facial angle is more acute, and the extremities are more attenuated. The latter circumstance may probably be accounted for from the fact, that the females have to endure, from a very early age, a great degree of hardship, privation, and ill-treatment. Like most other savages, the Australian looks upon his wife as a slave : to her belongs the duty of collecting and preparing the daily food—of making the camp or hut for the night—of gathering and bringing in firewood, and of procuring water. She must also attend to the children, and in travelling carry all the moveable property, and frequently the weapons of her husband. In wet weather she attends to all the out-side work, whilst her lord and master is snugly seated at the fire. If there is a scarcity of food, she has to endure the pangs of hunger, often, perhaps, in addition to ill-treatment or abuse. No wonder then that the females, and especially the younger ones (for it is then they are exposed to the greatest hardships) are not so fully or so roundly developed in person as the men. Yet, under all these disadvantages, this deficiency does not always exist. Occasionally, though rarely, I have met with females in the bloom of youth, whose well-proportioned limbs, and symmetry of figure, might have formed a model for the sculptor's chisel. In personal appearance the females are, except in early youth, very far inferior to the men. When young, however, they are not uninteresting. The jet-black eyes, shaded by their long dark lashes, and the delicate and scarcely-formed features of incipient womanhood, give a soft and pleasing expression to a countenance that might often be called good-looking—occasionally even pretty.

The colour of the skin, both in the male and female, is generally black, or very darkly tinged. The hair is either straight or curly, but never approaching to the woolliness of the negro. It is usually worn short by both sexes, and is variously ornamented at different periods of life. Sometimes it is smeared with red-ochre and grease ; at other times adorned with tufts of feathers, the tail of the native dog, kangaroo teeth, and bandages or nets of different kinds.

When the head of the native is washed clean, and purified from the odour of the filthy pigment with which it is bedaubed, the crop of hair is very abundant, and the appearance of it beautiful, being a silken, glossy, and curly black. Great pains are used to destroy or mar this striking ornament of nature.

Without the slightest pride of appearance, so far as neatness is concerned, the natives are yet very vain of their own rude decorations, which are all worn for effect. A few feathers or teeth, a belt, or band, a necklace, made of the hollow stem of some plant, with a few coarse daubs of red or white paint, and a smearing of grease, complete the *boudoir* for the ball-room. Like the

scenery of a panorama, they are then seen to most advantage at a distance ; for if approached too closely, they forcibly remind us of the truth of the expression of the poet, that

“ Nature unadorn’d is adorn’d the most.”

The body dress is simple, consisting of the skins of the opossum, the kangaroo, or the wallaby, when they can be procured.* A single garment only is used, made in the form of an oblong cloak, or coverlet, by the skins being stretched out and dried in the sun, and then sewed together with the sinews of the emu, &c. The size of the cloak varies according to the industry of the maker, or the season of the year. The largest sized ones are about six feet square, but the natives are contented with one not half this size, and in many cases are without it altogether. The cloak is worn with the fur side outwards, and is thrown over the back and left shoulder—and pinned on in front with a little wooden peg ; the open part is opposite the right side, so as to leave the right arm and shoulder quite unconfined in the male ; the female throws it over the back and left shoulder, and brings it round under the right arm-pit, and when tied in front by a string passing round the cloak and the back, a pouch is formed behind, in which the child is always carried. In either, if the skin be a handsome one, the dress is very pretty and becoming.

On the sea-coast, where the country is barren, and the skins of animals cannot readily be procured, sea-weed or rushes are manufactured into garments, with considerable ingenuity. In all cases the garments worn by day constitute the only covering at night, as the luxury of variety in dress is not known to, or appreciated by, the Aborigines.

* The natives of Cooksland, and of the Northern portion of the continent generally, dispense with clothing altogether ; but apparently agreeing with the poet in the sentiment,—

Without black velvet breeches what were man !

they puncture a pair, of a finely raised pattern, upon their natural skin, which always last them a lifetime, and the repair of which never costs them a farthing. I think it quite evident from the fact, that the natives of Northern Australia use no clothing, while those of the Southern portions of the island use it so sparingly as they do, and are always ready to dispense with it entirely, that an inter-tropical region has been from time immemorial the native country of the race ; that New Holland was originally peopled from the northward, and that the tribes which successively migrated to the colder regions of the south, where clothing of some kind was indispensable, found themselves *there* in circumstances to which their race had previously been utter strangers.

I have already observed that the Aborigines of Australia are universally divided into distinct and independent tribes, each occupying as their hunting-grounds a certain portion of territory, of which the limits are generally well-defined by prominent features in the natural scenery of the country, and well known to all the neighbouring tribes. This division appears to have taken place from time immemorial, as there is no part of the available portion of the country to which some tribe or other does not lay claim. It seems also to have proceeded on much the same principles as those of the present division into *Runs*, or Squatting-Stations, under the European colonists; the tribe in actual possession of any favourable locality obliging the supernumeraries, or weaker members of its body, to swarm off from time to time, and find a new country for themselves. War and the spirit of adventure may doubtless have contributed to the speedier and more extensive occupation of the country; but when actual possession has been secured in any of these ways, the right which it is supposed to imply is universally respected by the natives, except in cases of actual hostility.

The territory of each tribe is subdivided, moreover, among the different families of which it consists, and the proprietor of any particular subdivision has the exclusive right to direct when it shall be hunted over, or the grass burned and the wild animals destroyed; for although there is always a general assembly of the tribe, and sometimes of neighbouring tribes, on such occasions, the entertainment is supposed to be provided exclusively by the proprietor of the land, who is accordingly master of the ceremonies. When Moreton Bay was a Penal Settlement, a convict of the name of Baker escaped to the woods, and became naturalized and domiciliated among a tribe of black natives in the upper Brisbane district. The natives recognised, or supposed they recognised, in the runaway a deceased native of the tribe, who had died some time before, of the name of Boraltchou, and who they supposed had reappeared in the person of the white man; and although the con-

vict, who, it seems, did not relish the compliment, maintained that he was not Boraltchou, the natives, who knew better, as they had seen both, insisted that he was, *and allotted to him as his own property the portion of land that had belonged to the real Boraltchou.*

Each of these tribes is under a distinct chief, whose dignity, however, is rather equivocal, and whose position, as well as the way in which it is obtained, resembles pretty much that of the chiefs of the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. Heroism and success in battle, and not supposed hereditary rights, constitute the only title to chieftainship recognised by the Aborigines, and the influence and authority of the chief are acknowledged only in time of war. When Moreton Bay was a Penal Settlement, and the country at some distance from Brisbane very little known, Moppy, a chief or influential native of the tribe in which Baker had been naturalized, happened to visit the Settlement; and in order, as he conceived, to conciliate his tribe, the Commandant, among other marks of favour bestowed on him, caused a brass plate to be made for him, to be suspended on his breast by a chain of the same material hung round his neck, as is frequently done in New South Wales, with the inscription, *Moppy, king of the Upper Brisbane Tribe.* The rest of the tribe could not, of course, read the inscription on the plate, but being shrewd enough to discover that it had a meaning, they requested the supposed Boraltchou to explain to them what it meant. And when he told them that it signified that Moppy was their master, and that they were all his servants, they got into a prodigious *taking* at his supposed usurpation of kingly authority over themselves, as free and independent natives of Australia, and insisted that Moppy should carry back the plate to the Commandant, under pain of death. It would seem, therefore, that their form of government is rather democratical than patriarchal or kingly. Their internal polity, however, is far from being arbitrary, being very much regulated by certain traditionary laws and institutions,

of which the obligation is imperative upon all, and the breach of which is uniformly punished with death.

The only articles to which they attach the notion of personal property are their land, their wives and children, their arms, and their implements for hunting and fishing.

The conjugal relation is maintained by them with great decency and propriety, every family having its own separate hut and fire. They are remarkably fond of their children, and the idea of whipping a child, or thwarting its wayward inclinations in any way, appears monstrous to the natives, as does also the practice of Europeans in this particular. The wife, indeed, is rather the drudge or slave, than the companion of her husband. The lending of wives to one another is occasionally practised, as it was even among the ancient Romans, and the prostitution of their women to Europeans is, I am sorry to say, but too frequent on the part of their lords and masters.

Marriage is generally contracted with the consent of the relatives of the parties, and the sanction of the tribe, and it is never contracted between near relatives. At Limestone the parties join hands in the presence of the tribe. A native sometimes steals a jin or wife from a strange tribe, which usually leads to reprisals and ends in war; but the idea that courtship among the Aborigines of Australia consists generally, or even frequently, in simply knocking down the female and dragging her away by the hair, is a mere calumny upon the race, as silly and incredible as it is injurious. Instances of savage cruelty to their females are by no means rare, especially when under the influence of European rum; but instances also of warm and deep affection are not unfrequent. My brother was crossing one of the tributaries of the Hunter a few years ago, in a boat in which there was an old grey-headed native who had just been away burying his wife, and the tears were chasing each other down the poor old desolate man's cheeks, in a manner quite affecting to behold.

Generally speaking, they exhibit a good disposition towards white men, and the instances in which they have received and treated in the kindest manner solitary Europeans who were completely in their power, are numerous and unquestionable. Like all other barbarous nations, they are very revengeful; and considering all white men, as they uniformly do, as of the same tribe, they not unfrequently visit upon innocent persons, in the way of reprisal, injuries they have received from other white men, perhaps at a great distance off. In this way the Aborigines are frequently charged as the aggressors, in cases in which they conceive they are only taking the requisite satisfaction for injuries committed either on themselves or on others of their nation. A person of the name of John Brown, a half-caste Anglo-Indian from Calcutta, who had been for some time (I presume as an emancipated convict) at Moreton Bay, being bound on an expedition along the coast to the northward, seized and carried off with him in his boat, two black jins, or native women, from the neighbourhood of Brisbane. The circumstance, as well as the place of Brown's destination, was immediately reported to the natives at Amity Point, on Stradbroke Island, and by them to those on Moreton Island, some of whom carried the tidings across the northern entrance of the Bay to Bribie's Island, from whence the report was conveyed along the coast towards Wide Bay, where Brown and his party, with the exception of the two black women, were all murdered as soon as they landed.

Like all other barbarous people, the Aborigines of Australia are remarkably indolent, and seldom exert themselves in any way, unless when forced to do so from the pressure of hunger; and as they uniformly feast till all is gone when they have an abundant supply of food, they are not unfrequently put to their shifts, especially in the interior, where, at times, food is comparatively difficult to procure. The native stomach, however, is by no means fastidious. Fish of all kinds, including the turtle, the yungan, and various kinds of shell-fish;

kangaroos, wallabies, opossums, iguanas, birds, and snakes ; wild honey, which is very abundant, the native fig, the bunya-fruit, and several kinds of berries ; roots of different kinds, particularly one called the *bang-wal*, and another called the *Tam*, being a species of yam, and the root of the common fern—all contribute to furnish out their multifarious bill of fare ; and when none of these articles can be procured, they have only to pull up the stem of the *Xanthorrhaca*, or grass-tree, at the decayed root of which they are sure to find a whole colony of fat grubs, of which they are never at a loss to make a hearty meal.

They have a keen perception of the ludicrous and grotesque, and a decided taste for what may be called dry humour, and their talent for mimicry is really wonderful. If there is anything uncommon or *outré* in the appearance or demeanour of any European in the district, as for instance if he is lame, if he has a proud overbearing manner, or anything peculiar in the tones of his voice, they are sure to *take him off* with the most ludicrous effect. In the older Settlements of the colony, the sight of a whole company of black natives—both men and women—in a state of beastly intoxication is, unfortunately, by no means uncommon ; but at Moreton Bay they have happily not yet learned to relish ardent spirits, and the sight of a European under their influence affords them the greatest amusement. Many of them have been at the German Mission Station, near Brisbane, and they always behave with great propriety when present at Divine service ; but I was sorry to learn that certain of the young Squatters, when they come to the Settlement, occasionally get them to mimic the missionaries, which it seems they can do to great perfection, going through the various parts of Divine service with wonderful accuracy, as far as the tones and manner of the missionaries are concerned. This would doubtless be very amusing, if it were not exceedingly profane.

The medical practice of the natives is very simple, but by no means ineffectual ; and the instances of

speedy and perfect recovery in frightful surgical cases in which Europeans would be sure to lose either life or limb, are truly remarkable. Baker, the supposed Boraltchou, had a rheumatic fever when living among the Aborigines; for which he was first *champooed*, in pretty much the same way as is done in India, then immersed in a water-hole, and afterwards laid out in the sun to dry. After this he was walked about a little and then felt quite recovered. May not this be the origin of the practice usual in baths in India and the East generally, for the refreshment and relief of persons fatigued by travelling or suffering under great lassitude; and if so, may it not have originated among the Papuan race, when their home was on the continent of Asia? At all events, there is no reason to believe that the latter borrowed it from any other people. A variculous disease, somewhat similar to the small-pox, which has occasionally prevailed among the natives in various parts of the colony from its very commencement, happened to prevail among the tribe in which Baker was domiciliated, and proved fatal in many instances. The natives ascribe this disease to the influence of Budyah, an evil spirit which delights in mischief. Baker, however, had been vaccinated, and did not take the disease; for although the medical men of the colony are of opinion that it is a different disease from the small-pox, that wonderful specific appears to be equally effectual in preventing its access. The natives, however, could not be aware of this, and accordingly observed that "Budyah had no power against Boraltchou, and could do him no injury." In this disease, also, the natives practise *Hydropathy*, or the *water-cure*, placing the patient in water just as Preissnitz—the German hydropathist—would recommend.

From their manner of living, and especially from their always having a fire burning on the bare ground in front of their miserable huts, close to where they sleep, they are peculiarly subject to accidents from fire. Their feet are often burnt severely, and sometimes other parts of their bodies. Molly, a black woman whom I

saw on my excursion to the Pine River, had got her shoulder burnt dreadfully in this way, and as the wound had healed, there was a patch of white skin in the place the size of a large biscuit, indicating the frightful extent of the burning.

Internal diseases are uniformly ascribed to witchcraft or sorcery. Some black-fellow, it is alleged, ill-disposed towards the patient, has swallowed a stone or bone, and vomiting it up again, has spit it out at him, a process which is sure to make him ill, if not to kill him. The wizard is supposed, moreover, to possess the power of conveying himself under ground to the object of his deadly malice; and when the charge of witchcraft is thus fixed upon a particular individual by the supposed injured party, he is given up to death by his own tribe, and no injury is inflicted on the avenger of blood who puts him to death. A native of Boraltchou's tribe having died, his brother fixed the supposed crime of causing his death upon an old man of a neighbouring tribe, whom, in his quest for blood, he found up a tree. Waiting till the old man came down, he seized him, placed his head between his own legs, and twisted it round till he died. He then placed the body in a sitting posture, with the back towards the tree, and went and told the rest of the tribe what he had done, and where they would find the old man's body, to be disposed of as they should think fit. Nothing was done to this murderer, who was permitted to return to his own tribe as a matter of course.

On the 14th of December, 1845, Mr. W. Kent, a brother of the Commissary's at Brisbane, told me that when taking a walk that morning before breakfast, he had met a black-fellow of the name of Wogan, who requested him (Mr. Kent) to shoot another native whom he named, and who he alleged had killed his (Mr. K.'s) brother. The natives are in the habit of adopting any particular European with whom they are on good terms as their brother, and of exchanging names with him; and they conceive that they have not only peculiar claims upon the adopted brother, but that the latter is

bound to take up the quarrels and to avenge the wrongs of his supposed relative, as if he were a real one. When I visited the German Mission Station near Brisbane, a native named Bianco was introduced to me as the Rev. Mr. Schmidt. Mr. S. was then officiating for me in Sydney; but his name, the native told me, was now Bianco, as he was *his* brother. On the same occasion an old native asked one of the Germans if I was also a missionary, and in further explanation of his meaning, he added, *Cabon wolla corrobory?* "Is he one of your great talkers at the corrobory, or meeting of white people?" In the instance in question, the deceased native was Mr. Kent's adopted brother, and Mr. K. had really discharged the duty of a relative towards him, by having him brought to his house when he saw he was dying of a liver-complaint, and treated with such medicine as his case seemed to require. But the other natives would not allow him to remain at his white brother's, and he had died a few days after his removal at the native camp. Of course Mr. K. would neither shoot the supposed murderer himself, nor allow Wogan to shoot him for him, by lending him his gun for the purpose, as the latter proposed he should.

The skin of a dead man, placed either under or over the patient, is supposed to be a powerful specific against sorcery or witchcraft, in cases of disease. A few months after Davies, or Darumboy, the runaway who was recovered from the natives by Mr. Petrie, at Wide Bay, had joined the tribe in which he was so long naturalized, he was seized with some slight ailment, and lay extended for some time in considerable pain, in the hut of the native family to which he belonged. The natives sympathised with him in his illness as they could, and an old damsel in particular, in the height of her sympathy, brought out from her repositories the skin of a deceased native, and extended it over him. But the sight of this object, which, it seems, he had never seen before—the ears being still attached to the black hairy scalp, and the very finger nails adhering in horrible order to the skin of the hand—struck such horror

and affright into the mind of Davics, that he immediately forgot his ailment, and started up perfectly recovered.

But the most frequent specific employed by the natives in the case of internal disease, is the following. Proceeding on the supposition that the patient is under the influence of sorcery on the part of some hostile or ill-disposed black-fellow of some other tribe, his wife, or sister, or mother, or other female relative, (for it is generally a female who officiates on such occasions,) undertakes to deliver him from the malign influence by a sort of incantation, in the efficacy of which they have unbounded confidence. For this purpose, the patient being extended on his back, and a narrow belt of opossum or flying squirrel's skin, which the natives usually wear round their body, partly for ornament and partly as a girdle to fix some implement or weapon in, being bound round his body or head, according as either the one or the other is affected, and a pitcher with some water in it being placed beside him, the operator takes a mouthful of the water, and seizing the end of the belt with both hands, rubs it violently along her gums till the blood flows; ever and anon spitting out the blood either into the pitcher, or into a small hole dug in the ground to receive it. Under this process the disease or malign influence is supposed to pass out of the body of the patient along the belt into the mouth of the operator, who spits it out with the blood; the attendants chanting all the while—

Daggar mudlo yacca,	The stranger has bewitched him,
Daggar weng,	The stranger is a bad fellow,
Daggar bumma.	Beat the stranger.

Occasionally the Aboriginal practitioners blow upon the patient as strongly as they can; but for what specific purpose I have not been able to ascertain. Frequently, also, the exorcist of the district pretends, with great grimace, and a lengthy but not very interesting ceremonial, to extract from the body of the patient the stone or bone which the sorcerer has in some myste-

rious manner conveyed into it, and which occasions the disease; but the reader will doubtless be of opinion that if any beneficial effects should ever result from any of these singular modes of treatment, it must be owing entirely to the influence exercised on the imagination of the patient.

The ceremonial observed at Moreton Bay in making Kippers, as it is called, or initiating youths into the society of men, is nearly identical with that described by Captain Collins, as having been practised by the natives in the vicinity of Sydney, shortly after the first settlement of the colony. The identity of the ceremonial may be inferred even from the name given it by Captain C., viz. *kebarra*, from *kebah*, a stone; although the initiated at Moreton Bay have not to submit to the loss of one of their front teeth, as is still the case in New South Wales. It is a trial of patience, of strength, and of endurance, and reminds one not a little of the ceremonial of the middle ages, practised at the admission of knights. It has occurred to me, although it may probably be a mere fancy, that there may have been some common origin for the mystery which the Australian Aborigines still attach to a particular stone or *kebah*, which no female or European is allowed to see, and the mysterious Caaba of the idolatrous Arabs previous to the era of Mahomet.

The identity of the Aboriginal Australian race does not imply an absolute identity of manners, customs, and practices all over the continent. Certain customs appear to have become obsolete in particular districts; certain practices have been gradually disused, as being less adapted, perhaps, to the climate or locality. It cannot be doubted, for example, that the practice of losing a tooth at the age of puberty, as well as that of wearing a stone, a bone, or piece of wood, in the perforation of the *septum narium*, and of cutting off the two lower joints of the little finger in women—all of which are still found among the natives of the middle district of New South Wales, although the first is unknown and the others now rarely practised at Moreton Bay—were

ancient and universal customs and practices of the race; one of them at least, the wearing of an ornament in the *septum narium* being still observable in the Papuan islands of the Western Pacific.

The same differences, evidently suggested by the climate, and the habits and pursuits of the natives of different districts, respectively, are observable in the habitations of the Aborigines. Where the nature of the country, as well as their own inclinations, binds the natives to a migratory life, as in the middle district of New South Wales and in Port Phillip, as well as in the interior generally, a mere break-wind, composed of a few bushes, or of a few pieces of bark, arranged in a triangular form around two or three small saplings stuck in the ground, constitutes their miserable dwelling. But in localities in which the great abundance of fish of all kinds, and especially shell-fish, in addition to fruits, roots, birds, and land-animals, affords constant subsistence for a more settled population—as at Port Macquarie, the Clarence River, and Moreton Bay—the native huts are really of a superior character for Aboriginal dwellings. The following is the description which Captain Flinders gives of the native huts he found at Shoal Bay, at the mouth of the Clarence River, and on the shores of Moreton Bay, in the year 1799. I fear there are no such huts to be found in either of these localities now; for one of the first effects of the introduction of European civilization, in the persons of white men, into any part of the Australian territory, is to extinguish everything like incipient civilization among the Aborigines.

“ They (the huts at Shoal Bay) were of a circular form, and about eight feet in diameter. The frame was composed of the strongest tendrils of the vine, crossing each other in all directions, and bound together by strong wiry grass at the principal intersections. The covering was of bark, of a soft texture, resembling the bark of what is called the tea-tree at Port Jackson, and so compactly laid on as to keep out the wind and rain. The entrance was by a small avenue projecting from the periphery of the circumference, not leading directly into the hut, but turning sufficiently to prevent the rain from beating in. The

height of the under part of the roof is about four and a half or five feet, and those that were entered had collected a coat of soot, from the fires which had been made in the middle of the huts. They much resemble an oven. One of them was a double hut, comprising two recesses under one entrance, intended, most probably, for kindred families, being large enough to contain twelve or fifteen people. Bungarce (a native of Port Jackson) readily admitted that they were much superior to any huts of the natives which he had before seen."*

Again, speaking of Moreton Bay, he thus writes :

"Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered archway, round at the far end. The roofs, and the manner of securing them, were nearly the same as those which they had seen in Shoal Bay; but these had not any covered entrance to keep out the weather, nor was the hut any smaller in that part than elsewhere; but the sides and roof were equally calculated to shelter the inhabitants from a storm."†

At Cape Tribulation, near the northern extremity of the land, the huts of the Aborigines were observed by Captain King, R.N., to be thatched with palm leaves, and at Cape Cleaveland (latitude 19°) with grass and leaves. At Port Macquarie, when the European settlement in that locality was first formed, the native huts were found capable of containing eight or ten persons, and were constructed with an ingenious regard to the comfort of the inmates; the aperture opening to the land side, to screen them from the cold sea-breeze.

The following are notices of a similar kind by Sir Thomas Mitchell :—

In crossing one hollow [on the Gwydir River] we passed among the huts of a native tribe; these were tastefully distributed amongst drooping acacias and casuarinae; some resembled bowers under yellow fragrant mimosae, some were isolated under the deeper shades of casuarinae; while others were placed more socially, three or four huts together, fronting to one and the same fire. Each was semicircular, or circular, the roof conical, and from one side a flat roof stood forward like a portico, sup-

* Account of the English Colony in New South Wales. By David Collins, Esq., late Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. Two vols. London, 1798 and 1802. Vol. II., p. 228.

† *Ubi supra*, p. 236.

ported by two sticks. Most of these were close to the trunk of a tree, and they were covered, not as in other parts, by sheets of bark, but with a variety of materials, such as reeds, grass, and boughs. The interior of each looked clean, and to us passing in the rain, gave some idea not only of shelter, but even of comfort and happiness. They afforded a favourable specimen of the taste of the gins, whose business it usually is to construct the huts. The village of bowers also occupied more space than the encampments of native tribes in general; choice shady spots seemed to have been an object, and had been chosen with care.—Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c., by Sir T. L. MITCHELL, F.G.S. and F.R.G.S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, vol. i., p. 77.

There were also permanent huts on both banks [of the river Darling] the first of the kind I had seen; these were large enough certainly to contain fifteen persons, and in one there had recently been a fire; they were semicircular, and formed of branches of trees, well thatched with straw, and forming altogether a covering of about a foot in thickness: these afforded a ready and dry shelter for a whole family, in bad weather for instance, and the inhabitants may be considered somewhat before their brethren further eastward, as rational beings. These permanent huts seemed also to indicate a race of more peaceful and settled habits, for where the natives are often at war, such habitations could neither be permanent nor safe.—*Ibid.* i. 238.

At the base of this hill on the west, the river [the Lower Darling] took a very sharp turn, forming there a triangular basin, much wider and deeper than any of the reaches. Near it we found a native village, in which the huts were of a very strong and permanent construction. One group was in ruins, but the more modern had been recently thatched with dry grass. Each formed a semicircle; the huts facing inwards, or to the centre, the open side of the curve being towards the east. On the side of the hill of Tombs, there was one unusually capacious hut, of a very substantial construction, and on a commodious plan, as to the situation for the fire, which, without enclosing any of the smoke, was still accessible from every part of the hut, which might thus have easily contained twelve or fifteen persons. It was evidently some time since this dwelling had been inhabited, and I was uncertain whether such a large solitary hut had not been made during the illness of those who must have died in great numbers to give occasion for the large tombs on the hill.—*Ibid.* i. 261.

I saw two natives at a distance making the best of their way to the southward. We had this day seen some of their huts, which were of a very different construction from those of the Aborigines in general, being large, of a circular form, and made of straight poles meeting at an upright pole in the centre; the outside had been first covered with bark and grass, and then en-

tirely coated over with clay. The fire appeared to have been made entirely in the centre ; a hole in the top had been left as a chimney, and the place seemed to have been in use for years as a casual habitation. In this hut the natives had left various articles, such as jagged-spears, some of them set with flints, and an article of their manufacture which we had not before seen, namely, bags of the gins very neatly wrought, apparently made of a tough small rush. There were also two of these resembling reticules, and containing balls of resin, flints for the spear-heads. &c.*—Ibid. ii. 194.

I have already noticed the superior construction of the canoes of the Aborigines on the north coast towards the eastern extremity of the land. But even those of an inferior description on other parts of the coast exhibit considerable variety in their form and character. At Rosemary Island, the canoe is a mere log of wood, or one log with two others fastened to its opposite ends, on which the navigator sits astride, paddling with his hands, and resting his feet upon the end of the log. And at Hanover Bay, Captain King also observed a catamaran, or float, composed of five mangrove stems, lashed together to a piece of smaller wood, employed to carry two natives, besides their spears and baskets.

There are differences in the weapons used by the Aborigines on different parts of the coast, as in the form of the shield which at Endeavour River is of a crescent shape, and painted with black stripes, and in the use of the *womerah* or throwing-stick in certain localities, while in others it is unknown ; but I esteem it of more importance to observe, that at Rockingham Bay, on the east coast, in lat. 18° S., Captain King describes the method of cooking practised by the natives, in the following terms :—" A circular hole is dug, at the bottom of which is placed a layer of flat stones, on which, after they have been heated by fire, the meat is placed ; this is covered by another layer of stones, and over them they make a fire, which very soon cooks

* This was near the Grampians, the bags resemble the *Dillies*, or native baskets, of Moreton Bay.

their repast.”* Now, as this is the method of cookery in universal use among the fair or Polynesian race of the South Sea Islands, it becomes an interesting question to ascertain by which of the two races it was first practised or invented. And I confess I am strongly inclined to believe that the honour of this invention ought to be ascribed rather to the Papuan than to the Polynesian race. The former is unquestionably the more ancient race, at least in the Indian Archipelago and the Western Pacific, in which both races have been existing contemporaneously for many ages past; and if the Papuan race had borrowed the practice in question from the Polynesian, previous to their discovery and occupation of New Holland, it is the only instance that I am aware of, of their having borrowed any thing from that quarter. It is by no means difficult to account for the general disuse of this practice among the tribes to the southward; for it seems much less suited to the character of the country, and the scantier supply of food in Australia, than to the more fertile islands of the South Sea.

The fights of the natives are frequent, and to the northward especially, occasionally bloody. There is evidently a very faithful account of two of them, given by the two shipwrecked men from Sydney, Pamphlet and Finnegan, who were picked up by Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales, at Moreton Bay, on the occasion of his discovery of the Brisbane River in the year 1823. It is contained in Mr. Uniacke’s Narrative of Mr. Oxley’s Expedition, to which I have already had occasion to refer, and as that narrative also exhibits a pretty correct delineation of the manner of life of the Aborigines of Cooksland generally, before they had been subjected in any way to

* Narrative of a Survey of the Inter-tropical and Western Coasts of Australia, performed between the years 1818 and 1822, by Captain P. KING, R.N., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., London 1826, vol. ii. 203. Sir THOMAS MITCHELL mentions the same practice among the Aborigines to the Southward *in the far west*.

European influence, I shall subjoin the account of these fights, with Mr. Uniacke's preliminary observations, as it will serve to corroborate and confirm the account, with which I shall have to follow it up, of the manner of disposing of the dead still prevalent among the Papuan race.

After having stated, in his narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition to the northward in 1823, that that officer had proceeded, with Lieut. Stirling and the shipwrecked man, Finnegan, in a whale-boat from the vessel at anchor in Pumice Stone River, to verify the report of the existence of a large river to the southward, Mr. Uniacke proceeds as follows :—

I remained behind to shoot rare birds ; and this gave me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the natives, who are, both in their dispositions and manners, far superior to those in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and indeed to any that I had yet seen.

The principal station of the tribe, with whom we found these poor men, was about two miles higher up the Pumice Stone River than where the vessel lay ; but as they depend principally on fish for their support, they have several huts, at a distance of 3 or 4 miles from each other, to which they migrate from time to time as the fish become scarce. Their huts are built of long, slender wattles, both ends of which are stuck into the ground, so as to form an arch about $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 feet high. These are strongly interwoven with wide wicker-work, and the whole is covered with tea-tree (*melaleuca armillaris*) bark in such a manner as to be quite impervious to the rain ; thus forming a spacious and commodious hut, capable of containing from ten to twelve people. In their journeys, the women are obliged to carry heavy burdens, consisting of whatever rude utensils they may possess, together with a large quantity of fern root, which forms a part of their daily food, and not unfrequently two or three children besides. The men carry nothing but a spear, and, perhaps, a fire-stick ; and their only employment consists in catching fish : this they do very expertly with a kind of hoop net, which they use in the following manner :—They go out in equal parties of four, six, or eight, each man having two nets. They then walk along the beach till they perceive the fish near the shore which (from constant practice) they are enabled to do at a depth of four or five feet. As soon as this takes place, a little boy, who accompanies each party, creeps towards the water on his hands and knees ; the party then divide, forming two lines, one on each side of the boy, at a distance of two or three yards, and as soon as the fish are sufficiently near, the boy throws among them a handful of sand

so as to distract their attention, when the men instantly rush into the water, forming a semicircle round the fish, each man standing between his two nets, which he then draws close together. In this manner they are seldom unsuccessful, and frequently catch more than they can consume. As they never travel without fire, the moment the fish are out of the water they commence roasting and eating them, which they do without cleaning or any other preparation ; and when they have satisfied themselves, should any remain, they carry them home for their women and children, who have been employed during the day in procuring fern root, which they call *dinyowa*, and a part of which they give the men in exchange for fish. When Pamphlet arrived among them, they had no more idea that water could be made hot than that it could be made solid ; and on his heating some in a tin pot, which he had saved when wrecked, the whole tribe gathered round them and watched the pot till it began to boil, when they all took to their heels, shouting and screaming ; nor could they be persuaded to return till they saw him pour the water out and clean the pot, when they slowly ventured back, and carefully covered the place where the water was spilt with sand. During the whole of our countrymen's stay among them, they were never reconciled to this operation of boiling.

The women weave a strong neat kind of net with rushes ; with one or two of these each native is furnished to carry fish, *dinyowa*, or anything else they may pick up. The nets used for fishing are made by the men from the bark of the *kurrajong* (*hibiscus heterophyllus*), a shrub which is very common in the swamps. It is difficult at first sight to distinguish them from nets made of hemp. They have also nets of a much larger size, which they use in taking the kangaroo.*

Each individual of this tribe above the age of six years had the cartilage of the nose perforated, and many of them (especially the children) wore large pieces of stick or bone thrust through it, in such a manner as completely to stop the nostrils. This operation is always performed by the same person, whose office is hereditary, and confers some privileges, such as receiving fish, &c., from the others. It was held in this tribe by a fine intelligent young man, who was called the Doctor by our men. His father held a similar situation in another tribe on the south side of the river.

These tribes are distinguished from each other by the different colours they use in painting their bodies. Those on the north side blacken themselves all over with charcoal and bees' wax, which, with wild honey, they procure in abundance ; and those on the south side paint themselves with a sort of red jasper, which

* More probably the Yungan or Manatee, which Mr. Uniacke does not appear to have either seen or heard of. It was probably not the season for their appearing in the Bay.

they burn and reduce to a powder. Other tribes make use of a white pigment, with which, having previously blackened themselves, they daub various parts of their body.

Both sexes go perfectly naked ; nor are the females at all abashed at appearing in that state before a stranger. They do not seem to have any ornaments, though they were much gratified with strips of red cloth and bunting, with which we decorated their heads ; and some of the scarlet tail-feathers of a black cockatoo, which I gave them, had nearly produced a quarrel among them. Several articles of clothing were also given them, but they were invariably taken off and hidden as soon as they arrived at their camp ; nor did we ever see any article again after they once became possessed of it.

Their chief appeared to possess an unlimited authority over them ; he was a tall, middle-aged man, with an intelligent countenance. He had two wives, which (though it sometimes occurs) does not seem to be common among them. However, only one of them lived with him as a wife ; the other was employed, while he ate or slept, in going among the other huts and collecting from their inhabitants fish, &c.—a tribute which was daily paid to him without murmuring, although the rest of the tribe in consequence occasionally fell short themselves. The chief possesses nets both for fish and kangaroo, but seldom uses them except for his amusement. Neither does his head wife ever go out to gather fern-root with the rest of the women.

The same practice of scarifying themselves with sharp shells prevails here as at Sydney ; but most of these Indians were cut more deeply, and all with great regularity. The women here, as at Sydney, all lose the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand ; but the men do not extract a front tooth on their approach to puberty, as is invariably the case in the vicinity of Port Jackson. The amputation of the finger is performed by the same person who bores the noses.

Pamphlet and Finnegan, while among the Indians, were regularly painted twice-a-day, and were frequently importuned to allow themselves to be further ornamented by scarifying the body and boring the nose ; but on their signifying that they did not wish it, the natives always desisted ; nor was any violence used against them during their whole residence. Our cats and goats struck them with particular astonishment. We could not prevail on them to approach the latter, of whose horns they seemed to have a great awe. They were, however, continually caressing the cats, and holding them up for the admiration of their companions on shore.

I could not ascertain that these people had any idea whatever of religion. They do not stand in awe of either good or evil spirits ; nor did the Englishmen we found with them ever observe anything like religious ceremony or prayer among them during all the time of their residence.

The women are far more fortunate than those in the neighbourhood of Sydney, where they are abused in the most cruel way by the men, and where the marriage ceremony consists of seizing the bride and beating her till she is senseless. Pamphlet assured me that, during his residence among these natives (nearly seven months) he never saw a woman struck or ill treated except by one of her own sex. Indeed, save among the women, he never saw a quarrel in that or any other tribe he was with. The women that I saw were far superior in personal beauty to the men, or, indeed, to any natives of this country whom I have yet seen. Many of them are tall, straight, and well-formed; and there were two, in particular, whose shape and features were such as no white woman need have been ashamed of. This tribe amounted to about thirty men, sixteen or seventeen women, and about twenty children. Their quarrels with neighbouring tribes are frequent, and often end fatally. As some of them were witnessed by Pamphlet and his companion, it may not be uninteresting to insert here the description which they gave me of two, at which they were present, and which I took down at the moment. That which Finnegan describes may be considered the most faithful, as he witnessed it only two days before we found him, and the particulars were then strongly impressed on his mind.

ACCOUNT OF A FIGHT WITNESSED BY THOMAS PAMPHLET.

About the time of our first arrival at Pumice Stone River, the young native whom we called the Doctor, and who used to bore the noses and scarify the skins of the rest of the tribe, had been wounded in the knee with a spear, while out on a hunting expedition, by a native of another tribe, at a distance of fifty miles to the northward. As the spear had broken in the wound, there was a good deal of inflammation in his leg, when he applied to me to cure him. This I effected by extracting a large splinter from his knee, and in a short time he was quite recovered. As soon as his cure was effected, and he was able once more to go out fishing and hunting, he sallied forth, accompanied by several of his tribe, in order to take satisfaction of the man who had wounded him; and having a great liking for me, on account of my having cured him, he insisted on my going with him.

The spot appointed for the combat was a small ring, about 25 feet in diameter, about 3 feet deep, and surrounded by a palisade of sticks. The crowd assembled to see the fight amounted to about 500 men, women and children; and the combatants, followed by those who were friendly to them respectively, approached the ring in single file, and drew up in a regular manner on opposite sides of the circle. The whole assembly were well armed, many of them having five or six spears each. The two combatants then entered the ring, and having laid down their spears in opposite rows, point to point, began walking backwards

and forwards, talking loudly to each other and using violent gestures, as if to inflame their passions to a due height. The women had previously been driven away, and the most profound silence reigned in the rest of the assembly. After about ten minutes spent in this way, they commenced picking up their spears with their feet, keeping their eyes fixed on each other, so as to prevent either from taking advantage of the other's stooping. In this manner they proceeded till they had each three spears, which they stuck in the ground, ready for immediate use. At the moment when they commenced thus picking up their spears a tremendous shout burst from the spectators, who immediately relapsed into their former silence. All now being ready, one or two of the friends of each party spoke across the ring for a few minutes ; and as soon as they ceased, the Doctor threw his spear with all his force at the other, who, however, succeeded in warding it off with a kind of wooden shield called an *elemang*, into which, however, it penetrated three or four inches. The other then threw in his turn ; but his spear was also warded off in the same manner. The third spear which the Doctor threw penetrated quite through the shoulder of his adversary, who instantly fell, when one or two of his friends, jumping into the ring, pulled out the spear and returned it to its owner ; and the tournament concluded with loud huzzas from all parties. They all then retired to huts, which had been erected for the occasion, and the next day they again met at the ring, in order to give the friends of the wounded man an opportunity to avenge his quarrel. But it appeared that none wished to do so, as each had now wounded the other, and a reconciliation took place between the two tribes, which was announced by shouting, dancing, &c., and a parcel of boys were selected from each party and went into the ring to wrestle ; after which both tribes joined in a hunting expedition, which lasted a week : but my feet being sore, I was consigned to the care of the women.

ACCOUNT OF A FIGHT AMONG THE NATIVES OF MORETON BAY,
WITNESSED BY JOHN FINNEGAN.

The natives of Pumice Stone River, having a quarrel with another tribe, at the distance of twenty-five miles to the S.W., they were about to set off for the latter place, in order to decide it; and as I was then living with the chief of the Pumice Stone River tribe, he insisted on taking me with him. We accordingly set out early one morning, travelling from ten to fifteen miles daily. Our party consisted of ten men, eight or nine women, and fourteen children, the king, his son, and myself. The men carried the nets, and the women were loaded with fern-root, &c., all parties, men and women, being armed with spears. On the third day we halted, and all the men went out fishing. After eating a hearty meal, they commenced painting and decorating themselves with feathers. The king himself covered me all over with char-

coal and bees' wax ; and, when all were dressed, we again went forward, and in a short time arrived at a number of huts, which had been erected for the occasion. They were so numerous, that I could hardly count them ; and each tribe (for there were many tribes assembled to see the fight,) appeared to have their huts distinct from the other. On our arriving within a small distance of the encampment, we all sat down ; and as soon as we were perceived, the assembled multitude began to shout, and immediately my companions were visited by several of their friends, and all began to weep piteously. Shortly afterwards, the chief of the tribe on whose ground we were, came to us ; and having conversed for some time with our chief, he pointed out a place on which we might build huts for ourselves. The women of our party then immediately commenced building, and in less than two hours, had finished five or six commodious huts, in which we all rested that night. The next morning, a large party, including our chief, and several of his men, went out kangaroo hunting. They were not, however, very successful, having only caught one large kangaroo. They, however, gave me a great piece of the hind quarter, of which they made me eat very heartily ; and here I will observe, that at all times, whether they had much or little, fish or kangaroo, or any thing else, they always gave me as much as I could eat. The same evening at sunset, the whole party, carrying firesticks, went away about a mile and a-half to where the battle took place the next day, the chief leaving me with his wife and his children in the hut. He, however, returned some time in the night ; for I found him at my back when I awoke in the morning. The next day, after breakfast, the ceremony of painting was gone through afresh, and we marched in regular line, our tribe having been joined by several strangers, all of whom seemed much rejoiced at my accompanying them. We shortly arrived at a level piece of ground, in which had been dug a circular pit of about forty feet in diameter. I was now left in care of the chief's wife, at a short distance from this pit ; but being anxious to view the fight, in spite of her endeavours, I went up towards it. She, however, followed me, calling out and weeping ; upon which one of the men of our tribe came to me, and taking my hand, led me up to the pit. I there saw a woman of my tribe, and one of another, fighting desperately with sticks. The battle did not, however, last long, as they appeared to be quite in earnest, and in five minutes, their heads, arms, &c., being dreadfully cut and swelled, our woman was declared the conqueror, the other not being able any longer to oppose her. The victory was announced by a loud shout from all parties, and the Amazonian combatants were immediately carried away by their respective friends. The man who had brought me to the pit still continued to hold my hand, and I observed his whole body tremble like an aspen leaf. The chief's wife now came again to me, and endeavoured by every means in

her power to force me away ; but finding I still refused, she went for her husband, who immediately came, and taking away my spear, forced me out of the crowd. He then called several other chiefs around me, and showed me to them. This caused great talking and laughing among them, from surprise at my colour and appearance. The king then addressed them at some length, apparently asking them not to hurt me, which they gave me to understand by signs, that they would not. I was then delivered up to our chief's wife once more, who led me back to the place where we were left before. I had however, a good view of the pit, round which the whole crowd still remained. I now found that, while I had been engaged with the chiefs, another fight had taken place in the pit, for I presently saw a man carried out by his friends, who were of our tribe, bleeding profusely at the side from a spear wound. He was brought down to where I was, and placed on two men's knees, with some kangaroo skins spread over him ; the men, women and children howling and lamenting, much in the manner of the lower Irish. They supplied him with water from time to time, but his wound was evidently mortal, and in less than an hour he expired. The chief's wife then took me away a short distance from where he lay, and the whole set to work immediately to skin him ; but from the distance at which I stood, I could not perceive the manner in which they did it. In the meantime, two more men had entered the ring to fight ; and here it may not be amiss to observe, that previous to each fight, the same ceremony is used, that is described by Thomas Pamphlet in the combat which he witnessed. The third fight was now going on, while our party were engaged in skinning their deceased companion ; when it appeared, from a tremendous shout, that some unlooked-for event had happened in the pit. I afterwards learned that the spectators judged that foul play had taken place between the combatants. The crowd upon this drew away from the pit ; and our party, accompanied by those tribes that were friendly to them, formed themselves in a line, while their adversaries did the same opposite to them. The battle then became general. Several from each side would advance, and having thrown their spears, again retire to the line, in the manner of light infantry. Others would get behind the trees, and there watch an opportunity to hurl their spears with greater effect. In this manner, the fight continued upwards of two hours, during which time many retired from the line severely wounded, and another man of our party was killed. What number may have been killed on the other side, I had no means of ascertaining. Our party now began to give way, which being observed by the women and children with whom I was, they made signs to me to accompany them ; and with the exception of those who were employed in skinning the body, we made off. Not being able, however, to run as fast as the rest, I was soon in the midst of the opposite party, who, however, notwithstanding

my fears, did not attempt to hurt me, but merely laughed and pointed at me as they passed by, showing the same marks of wonder as the chiefs had done in the morning. I then walked back to the huts which we had left that morning, but found nobody there. However, I sat down by the fire, and towards evening they began to return, a few at a time. Just before dark I saw a large crowd approach, who (it seems,) were bringing the bodies of the two men who had been killed. They laid them down about twenty rods from the huts, and began a great lamentation over them. The first body was completely flayed, but they had not yet had leisure to skin the other. I attempted to approach, but was immediately prevented by all hands, and forced to return to the fire. Shortly afterwards our chief and his wife came back, and instantly commenced packing up their nets, &c., in order to depart. Two large fires were lighted where the bodies lay, in which, I judged from the noise as well as the offensive smell, they were both consumed. Immediately after this, our whole party decamped; and having travelled more than half a-mile, we stopped for the night. Very early next morning, we again started, and travelled all day with great expedition, without ever halting or eating any thing. Among our party were four women and three men wounded, the latter very severely. They however contrived, though with difficulty, to keep up with us. I had observed, during this day's march, two men, one of whom belonged to our tribe, and another to a tribe which was friendly to us, each of whom carried something on his shoulder, but did not keep the same path with us, walking through the bush at a little distance abreast of us. Being curious to know what it was they carried, I attempted several times to approach them; but as soon as this was observed, I was invariably brought back by the others, who made signs to me not to go near them. We travelled that day about eight or ten miles, and towards evening arrived at the edge of a large swamp, where we halted, and huts were instantly erected by the women, who were afterwards obliged to go out and procure fern-root for the whole party, the men never providing any thing but fish or game. I lodged as usual with the chief, at a little distance from whose hut I observed the two men hang up their burthens, which I again attempted to approach, but was (as before) prevented. Here we remained two days, during which a large fire was kept constantly burning underneath the trees, on which these mysterious burthens were hanging. On the evening of the second day, I once more attempted to find out of what they consisted, though I strongly suspected they were the skins of the two men who had been killed. The old chief, on seeing me go near them, ran after me, calling loudly to me to return; but I persevered, and at last reached the place. I now saw that my conjecture was right; the two skins were stretched each on four spears, and drying over the fire. The skin of the head was divided into two parts, and hung down

with the hair on it. The soles of the feet, and palms of the hands, were also hanging down, and the nails still attached firmly to the skin. Several of the men and women were sitting round the fire, under the skins, and now invited me to sit down with them, which I did. They then gave me some kangaroo skin, to decorate my arms and head, and seemed to wish me to sing to them; but on my making signs that it was not proper to do so, while the remains of our friends were not buried, they seemed surprised, and afterwards told me, by signs, that they were much pleased at my refusal. After sitting with them about half-an-hour, the chief's wife came, and brought me back to the hut. Shortly afterwards, all the men dressed themselves in kangaroo skins, and one of them in an old rug jacket, which I had, and, with one or two of the women, held a consultation round the fire, each person having a fire stick in his hand. After conversing about half-an-hour, two of the party separated from the rest, and having taken down the skins, set off at full speed through the bush, the rest following, shouting, and making much noise. After this, I saw nothing more of the skins, nor do I know what became of them. In about three quarters of an hour the party returned, and the man who had taken away my old jacket, gave it me back. The next morning we returned towards the Pumice Stone River, by the same path which we had travelled to the fight, and the natives followed their usual occupations of fishing and hunting, as if nothing had happened.—Uniacke's Narrative, pp. 57-81. *Passim*.

Pamphlet and his two shipwrecked companions, had been about five months among the natives of the Pumice Stone River. "Their behaviour to me and my companions," he observes in the conclusion of the narrative of his shipwreck, "had been so invariably kind and generous, that, notwithstanding the delight I felt at the idea of once more returning to my home, I did not leave them without sincere regret."

I had not been long in New South Wales, when I had reason to believe, that some such doctrine as the famous oriental doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, was generally received and held among the Aborigines. In talking on the subject, however, with a number of intelligent persons throughout the Colony, I found that it was the general belief of such persons, that the idea had originated with their convict-servants, who, with no object whatever but merely to practise on the credulity of the natives, had

persuaded them, in the convict-slang of the times, that “black-fellows, when they died, would *jump up*, or rise again, white-fellows, and that white-fellows would *jump up* black-fellows.” I was satisfied with this explanation for a time; but I found, at length, that it was not satisfactory, as at different periods in the history of the Colony, and in widely distant localities, particular white men had been recognised (or, at least, supposed to be so) by the blacks, as deceased black men, whom they knew and named, returned to life again; and the feelings with which they were known to regard such persons convinced me that the idea had not originated with the convicts at all. Shortly after the first settlement of the Colony, a runaway convict, of the name of Wilson, who had lived for years among the Aborigines, was supposed, by the tribe in which he was naturalized, to be a particular deceased native, whom it seems he resembled, and whose mother was then living, returned to life again. The poor old woman believed it herself, and adopted the runaway as her son; and as Wilson, who, it appears, was an artful fellow, found it his interest to keep up the delusion, he was at no pains to undeceive her.

In September 1790, five convicts seized a small boat, with the intention of escaping, if possible, from the Colony; but after suffering much hardship and privation, they were at length driven ashore at Port Stephen, about 150 miles to the northward of Sydney. They were kindly received by the natives, and, as Colonel Collins informs us, on their own authority,—for it appears they were discovered, and brought back to Sydney, several years thereafter—“they were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were, in general, supplied by the natives with fish, or other food. They told us that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were, undoubtedly, the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe, that his

father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, (two of the number) and took him to the spot where his body had been burned. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions.”*

I happened, from time to time, to hear of individual cases of the same kind, in various parts of the Colony, particularly at the Wollombi, in the district of Hunter’s River, and in the Cow-pasture district to the Southward of Sydney; but, as I was not then aware of the case mentioned by Collins, the subject made no particular impression on my mind. On touching, however, at King George’s Sound, in the Colony of Swan River, on my fifth voyage from England to New South Wales, in the year 1837, my attention was strongly directed to the subject once more, on being informed, by various persons of respectable standing in that Colony, that the same idea prevailed among the black natives *there* also; and that a particular gentleman at Swan River had actually been pointed out by the Aborigines as one of themselves—a particular native then deceased, whom, it seems, he resembled—returned to life again. The prevalence of so very singular a superstition, on the opposite shores of New Holland, appeared to me not only to prove the absolute identity of the race, on both sides of the continent, but to indicate some common and mysterious origin for the superstition itself; and in this opinion I was confirmed, on learning, afterwards, that it was equally prevalent among the Aborigines of Port Phillip,—a particular individual, then residing at Melbourne, having been pointed out, with the utmost confidence, by the Aborigines of that district, as one of their own nation, who had died some time before, come to life again. On my visit to Moreton Bay, the cases of Baker, or Boraltehou, and Davies, or Darumboy,

* Account of the English Colony of New South Wales. By David Collins, Esq., late Judge Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. London: 1798. Page 426.

(with which I was made acquainted quite incidentally, and which were both precisely of the same character), awakened my curiosity still further, and added to my perplexity, when endeavouring to account for a fact in Ethnology so exceedingly remarkable. I am satisfied, however, that I have been enabled, through the latter of these individuals, to discover the real origin of the apparent mystery, and perhaps, also, to throw a little additional light on what I have uniformly regarded, for these twenty years and upwards, since I first landed on the shores of Australia, as the darkest and most difficult chapter in the history of man,—I refer to the moral phenomena presented to philosophy and religion generally, in the circumstances and condition of the Papuan race.

James Davies is the son of a Scotch blacksmith, who followed his calling first in the Old Wynd, and afterwards at the Broomielaw, in the city of Glasgow, about twenty-five years ago. The father brought up his son to his own business, but the latter turned out a bad character, and was transported to New South Wales, per the ship *Minstrel*, in the year 1824, being only sixteen years of age at the time. His transportation, however, does not seem to have reformed him in any degree, for he was again transported for some colonial misdeed to the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay. He was there employed at the forge along with another young man in similar circumstances. The Commandant of Moreton Bay at that period was Captain Logan, of the 57th Regiment, who being very zealous in the cause of Geographical discovery, and accustomed to take long solitary excursions into the wild bush, was at length unfortunately murdered by the black natives, probably in revenge for some act of aggression committed upon themselves, by one or other of the convicts under his charge. Captain Logan was a strict and rather severe disciplinarian, and so liberal in the application of the lash, that Davies and his companion, fearing that it might shortly be their turn to be flogged, although they had

never been punished in the Settlement, absconded, and "took to the bush." Proceeding to the northward, they soon fell in with a numerous tribe of black natives, by whom they were kindly received, and treated with the utmost hospitality; Davies being recognised as one of their own number, who had died, or been killed sometime before, returned to life again. Davies is by no means good-looking as a white man; and I was not surprised at the natives fancying he was a second *avatar*, or incarnation of one of themselves. The name of the native whom he was supposed to represent had been Darumboy, and this was thenceforth his native name. The recognition of the supposed relationship was attended, in the first instance, with lamentations, mingled with rejoicing; and Davies was immediately adopted by the parents of Darumboy, who were still alive, and regularly supplied with fish in abundance, and any other description of provisions they happened to possess.

The tribe in which Davies and his companion were thus naturalized, had their usual place of habitation (if such a phrase can be used with propriety in reference to a migratory people, who never stay more than a few nights in any one place) at a considerable distance in the interior, although they occasionally visited the coast to vary their usual sustenance and mode of life by fishing; and it was on one of these occasional visits to the coast that Davies was found and brought back to civilized society, as already related, by Mr. Andrew Petrie, after he had been upwards of fourteen years among the natives, and had long given up all thoughts or expectation of ever returning to the society of civilized men. His companion, however, had in the meantime, and when they had both been only a short period among the natives, fallen a victim to his ignorance of the native superstitions. For the tribe being on the coast, and encamped near some inlet of the sea, where oysters and other shell-fish were abundant, and all that were able being employed in gathering the shell-fish, Davies' companion being in want of a basket or other

receptacle for those he had collected, and observing a *dilly* or native basket, (which is usually formed of a strong native grass, very neatly plaited) hanging in the hollow of a tree close by, he took it down, and finding it contained only a quantity of bones, he threw them out, and filled the dilly with oysters. These bones, however, were those of a deceased native of the tribe which had thus, in conformity to the native usage in such cases, been solemnly deposited in their last resting-place; and the deed which the white man had done quite unconsciously in removing them and throwing them out, was regarded by the natives as the greatest sacrilege, and punishable only with death. The unfortunate young man was accordingly surprised and killed very shortly thereafter.

Davies had on one occasion, sometime thereafter, very nearly fallen a victim himself to the ferocity of the natives. In their natural state they have domesticated the dingo or native dog of the Colony, and every tribe is accompanied in all its wanderings by a number of these creatures, which assist them in hunting the bandicoot and opossum, and which are generally half-starved, lean and mangy, so that "as lean as a black-fellow's dog" is the usual Colonial *simile* for extreme poverty. They are very fond of these animals, however, especially the women, who not unfrequently suckle the puppies along with their children. Darumboy's native mother had a favourite of this kind, (as is not uncommon among her sex even in more civilized countries,) which Davies by some means accidentally killed. The loss of this animal excited the bad passions of the old savage to the highest degree, and perhaps led her to suspect the reality of the white man's relationship to her family; for she actually instigated her husband to murder Darumboy in revenge for the loss of her dog! This, it seems, the old man was not indisposed to do; for scowling at Davies, and working himself up into a frenzy of passion at him, he told him he was not Darumboy, but *Mawgooy*, a spirit or ghost, which he intended, of course, as a term of great re-

proach. At all events Davies saw that his life was no longer in safety, and that his only security lay in putting the old black-fellow in bodily fear of him. So being a short, stout, powerful man, he "turned to," as he termed it, and gave the old savage a sound beating—I presume with his fists, which he had probably learned to use at the Broomiclaw, and which even the savage, who had no idea of such close quarters, was not accustomed to use in that way, preferring a stick or club like the Irish. Having thus effectually subdued the old man, he exerted himself for sometime thereafter in procuring a liberal supply of food for the family; and by this means he conciliated their affections once more, and succeeded in keeping the peace. In regard to the word *Mawgooy*, I may mention, as an additional illustration of the singular diversity of languages among the Aborigines of Australia, that it is not known among another tribe of black natives whom Davies visited, considerably farther northward; the word *there* for the ghost of a man being *Muther*, and for that of a woman *Tarcan*. The synonyme for a ghost in another tribe which he visited was *Balooyeh*.

I met with Davies quite accidentally at Captain Griffin's station, on the Pine River, where he arrived on one of the evenings I was there, along with four black natives. He was then in the performance of a most benevolent action. For a person of the name of Thomson having gone sometime before, along with his wife and three men, in a boat, on an expedition to the northward, where a vessel had been wrecked on the coast, in the expectation of finding something valuable at the wreck, and having never returned—there was a report in circulation at the Settlement, that the four men had all been murdered by the black natives, and that the woman was still alive among the natives. Davies had known the parties, and commiserating the case of the poor woman, he had generously offered to proceed to the spot, a distance of about 250 miles, and to bring her back, or ascertain the truth concerning her. In the event of his succeeding he was in hopes—

for his expectations were of the most moderate character—that the inhabitants of Brisbane would contribute a trifle to enable him to purchase some iron to set-up as a blacksmith at the Settlement, on his own account. Captain Wickham, the Police Magistrate, had given him a gun and some ammunition, and Captain Griffin gave him an excellent kangaroo dog. The four natives he intended to take with him only about 100 miles of the way, as he conceived they would be in greater danger in proceeding farther than himself. On the morning of their departure, Captain Griffin had a large potful of rice boiled for the natives, which they seemed to relish very much, as one of the young men had supplied them with sugar to render it more palatable; and as there was much more than sufficient for a single mess, I gave them some spare article of apparel to pack the remainder in for a meal by the way. We all felt very much interested in the object; and as Darumboy struck into the forest, with the gun over his shoulder, and the kangaroo-dog in a leash by his side, followed in Indian file by the four black-fellows, I believe each offered a silent prayer to the Almighty for their success. Not to return to the subject, I may add, that Davies had returned to Brisbane sometime before I left the Colony, having proceeded to the spot where the murder was said to have happened, and ascertained beyond a doubt that the report had been unfounded—the boat having swamped, and all on board having perished before reaching the land.

During his residence among the black-fellows, Davies had travelled as far, he thought, as 500 miles to the northward of Moreton Bay; being passed along from tribe to tribe, like a blind man soliciting charity, from one farm-house to another, in Scotland. He described the country he had passed over as being generally well-watered, having had to cross a river every second or third day the whole way. He spoke particularly of an extensive tract of country, called by the natives Eurabunba, equally available for pasture and agriculture to the north-westward, beyond the Wide

Bay River. The climate to the northward he did not feel at all sensibly hotter than that of Moreton Bay, and the capabilities of a large extent of country in that direction, both for agriculture and grazing, he spoke of in the highest terms. By every tribe, however, which he visited in his journey, he was uniformly taken for a deceased native returned to life again; and his arrival among any tribe that had never seen a white man before, was generally an event of intense interest to the natives. They would gather around him in a crowd, and gaze at him for a time apparently in silent awe and veneration—endeavouring to discover some likeness between him and any particular deceased native whom they supposed he resembled, asking him whether he was not that native come to life again. And when any such resemblance was recognised, the relatives of the deceased, if not at hand, were apprised of the fact, and a scene of mingled lamentation and rejoicing, such as one might anticipate in such circumstances, immediately succeeded; the relations of the deceased native cutting themselves with shells or sharp-edged weapons till the blood would stream down, and the supposed dead man come to life again being thenceforth treated with the very best the tribe could furnish. On some occasions, however, the black natives could not discover any resemblance between the white stranger and any of their deceased friends, and in these cases the *onus probandi* in regard to the identity of his person was thrown upon himself, as in such instances he was usually asked who he had been, or what had been his name when he was a black-fellow, and before he died. This was rather a difficult question for Davies to answer, without getting himself into scrapes, either by betraying his ignorance of the nomenclature of the tribe, or by exhibiting no resemblance to the individual whom he might otherwise have pretended to personate. I could not help admiring, therefore, the ingenuity with which he extricated himself out of this dilemma—for (being naturally remarkably shrewd and intelligent) his uniform answer in such cases was, that it was so

long since he died, that he had quite forgotten what name he had had when he was a black man;* and with this answer the simple natives were always satisfied.

But the manner in which the Aborigines of the northern districts generally dispose of the dead, appeared to me to be the most important point on which the evidence of Davies could be brought to bear; and it will doubtless be horrifying to the reader to learn from that evidence, corroborated as it is by independent and unquestionable testimony, that in that part of the Australian territory the bodies of the dead, whether they fall in battle or die a natural death, are, with the exception of the bodies of old men and women, uniformly eaten by the survivors. Finnegan's account of the fight he witnessed at Moreton Bay in the year 1823,† is remarkably accordant with the account given me by Davies of what usually takes place on such occasions, the dead of each party being carried off and skinned by their respective friends; but when Finnegan supposed that the bodies of the two men who fell on that occasion were consumed by fire, his imagination fell

* It is singular enough that Darumboy should thus have been unconsciously guided under the spur of necessity, to one of the leading principles of the ancient Metempsychosis, or doctrine of the Transmigration of souls.

*Tum pater Anchises : Animae, quibus altera fato
Corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
Securos latices et longa oblivio potant.*

VIRG. *ÆNEID*, vi. 715.

*Then thus the Sire : The souls that throng the flood
Are those to whom by fate are other bodies owed,
In Lethe's lake they long oblivion taste,
Of future life secure, forgetful of the past.*

DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

Or thus :—

*The souls, Anchises said, that here await
Their future bodies, as ordained by Fate,
Must drink, in copious draughts at Lethe's stream,
A long oblivion of their past life's dream.*

† See above, p. 411.

far short of the sad reality, for there can be no doubt that they were roasted and eaten by their friends and relatives. Davies has seen as many as ten or twelve dead bodies brought off by one of the parties engaged, after such a fight as Finnegan describes, all of which were skinned, roasted, and eaten by the survivors. And when I observed that so large a quantity of human flesh could not surely be consumed at once, he replied, that there were so many always assembled on such occasions, that the bodies of the dead were cut up and eaten in a twinkling, there being scarcely a morsel for each. I do not suppose that it was a feeling of shame at being seen by a white man at such orgies, that induced the natives in Finnegan's case to take such pains to prevent him from witnessing what they were about. I suspect it was merely the superstitious idea that his presence would have been either improper or unlucky.

When the dead body of a person who has either fallen in battle or has died a natural death is to be subjected to this horrid process, it is stretched out on its back, and a fire lighted on each side of it. Firebrands are then passed carefully over the whole body, till its entire surface is thoroughly scorched. The cuticle, consisting of the epidermis or scarfskin, and the *reticulum mucosum*, or mucous membrane of Malpighi, in which the colouring matter of the skin is contained, is then peeled off, sometimes with pointed sticks, sometimes with muscle-shells, and sometimes even with the finger nails, and then placed in a basket or dilly to be preserved. And as the *cutis vera*, or true skin, is, in all varieties of the human family, perfectly white, the corpse then appears of that colour all over; and I have no doubt whatever, that it is this peculiar and ghastly appearance which the dead body of a black man uniformly assumes under this singular treatment, and with which the Aborigines must be quite familiar wherever the practice obtains, that has suggested to them the idea that white men are merely their forefathers returned to life again; the supposition that particular white men are particular deceased natives, known to

the Aborigines when alive, being merely this idea carried out to its natural result, under the influence of a heated imagination. There is reason also to believe, *e converso*, that wherever this idea prevails, the practice in which it has originated—that of peeling off the cuticle previous to the other parts of the process to be described hereafter—is still prevalent also, or has been so, at least, very recently.

After the dead body has been subjected to the process of scorching with firebrands, it becomes so very stiff as almost to be capable of standing upright of itself. If the subject happens to be a male, the subsequent part of the process is performed by females, but if a female, it is performed by males. The body is then extended upon its face, and certain parties, who have been hitherto sitting apart in solemn silence, (for the whole affair is conducted with the stillness of a funeral solemnity,) step forward, and with a red pigment, which shows very strongly upon the white ground, draw lines down the back and along the arms from each shoulder down to the wrist. These parties then retire, and others who have previously been sitting apart in solemn silence, step forward in like manner, and with sharp shells cut through the *cutis vera*, or true skin, along these lines. The entire skin of the body is then stript off in one piece, including the ears and the finger-nails, with the scalp, but not the skin of the face which is cut off. This whole process is performed with incredible expedition, and the skin is then stretched out on two spears to dry, the process being sometimes hastened, as in the case described by Finnegan, by lighting a fire under the skin. Previous to this operation, however, the skin is restored to its natural colour, by being anointed all over with a mixture of grease and charcoal.

When the body has thus been completely flayed, the dissectors step forward and cut it up. The legs are first cut off at the thighs, then each arm at the shoulder, and last of all the head; not a drop of blood appearing during the process. The larger sections are then subdi-

vided and portioned out among the expectant multitude, each of whom takes his portion to one or other of the fires, and when half-roasted, devours it with great apparent relish. The flesh of the natives in the northern country generally is very fat, and that of children, which are never skinned like adults, particularly so. Davies has often seen a black-fellow holding his portion of his fellow-creature's dead body to the fire in one hand, on a branch or piece of wood stuck through it like a fork or skewer, with a shell or hollow piece of bark under it in the other, to receive the melted fat that dropped from it, and drinking it up when he had caught a sufficient quantity to form a draught, with the greatest gusto. In this way the body disappears with incredible rapidity, the bones being very soon cleaned of every particle of flesh.

The bones are then carefully collected, and placed in a dilly or basket, and forwarded by a trusty person to all the neighbouring tribes, in each of which they are mourned over successively, for a time, by those to whom the deceased was known. They are then returned to the tribe to which the deceased belonged, and carried about by his relatives for months, or even years, till at length they are deposited permanently in a hollow tree, from which it is esteemed unpardonable sacrilege, as appears from the fate of Davies' companion, to remove them.

If the deceased has fallen in battle there is no Coroner's inquest, so to speak, held on the subject of his death; but if he has died a natural death, in the vigour of youth or manhood, it is always presumed by the natives that his dissolution has been brought about by some unfair means—by witchcraft or sorcery, of course—and an inquiry into the cause of it is instituted accordingly. With this view the soothsayer or exorcist of the tribe, or some person corresponding to the priest Chalcas in the Grecian army under the walls of Troy, (for superstition is remarkably consistent with itself in its development in all ages,) carries round the skin, along with certain attendants, with the two spears on which

it has been stretched out and dried, in the Corrobbory, or general assembly of the natives, which is always held on these occasions; and stopping at every step, as he comes up to another and another black native in the extended circle, he pretends to ask the skin if this was the man who killed him. If the answer which the skin is alleged to return, and which of course is audible to the soothsayer exclusively, declares the innocence of the individual, the procession passes on, and the question is repeated before the next native. At length there is some unfortunate individual found, whom the skin of the dead man is alleged by the soothsayer to have accused of killing him, and the fact is significantly announced to the Corrobbory, by the soothsayer striking the two spears into the ground, with the skin distended upon them, before the alleged culprit. The latter is thenceforth marked out for death, and though nothing should be done to him at the time, he is sure to be eventually surprised and killed, and his body to be disposed of in the same way. The skins of the deceased are carefully preserved among the tribe, and, as I have already observed, are frequently placed either under or over sick persons, as an effectual specific against witchcraft or sorcery.

The Aborigines of Australia are, therefore, decided cannibals; the general mode of disposing of the dead being the one I have described, and the exceptions being merely the cases of old men and women dying of the infirmities of age.* In the latter cases the bodies are either buried, burned, suspended on trees, or left to dissolve into their original elements, in the hollows of trees. Davies acquits the northern natives of infanticide, of which some of those elsewhere are certainly guilty, and denies that they ever put old people to death; their relatives generally providing for them, and holding them in great reverence. He maintains, also, that they

* According to the testimony of Davies, the natives assemble for twenty miles round to be present at one of these feasts upon the dead.

never put any one to death merely for the love of human flesh ; but the customs of their country and their race, from time immemorial, render it incumbent upon them, and a sacred duty, to devour the dead bodies of their relatives and friends in the manner I have described ; even the dead body of an enemy slain in battle is never eaten by his enemies, but by his own tribe and friends.* In one instance, within his own knowledge, the child of a black man and woman having died in the evening, its parents had devoured nearly the whole body by the morning.†

* It is indeed curious to observe the different modes of burying, adopted by the natives on different rivers. For instance, on the Bogan, they bury in graves covered like our own, and surrounded with curved walls and ornamented ground. On the Lachlan, under lofty mounds of earth, seats being made around. On the Murrumbidgee and Murray, the graves are covered with well-thatched huts, containing dried grass for bedding, and enclosed by a parterre of a particular shape, like the inside of a whale-boat. And on the Darling, the graves are in mounds, covered with dead branches and limbs of trees, and surrounded by a ditch, which here we found encircled by a fence of dead limbs of branches.¹

It is worthy of observation, however, that Sir Thomas Mitchell unconsciously affords strong corroboration of the account I have given of the practice of the natives on the eastern coast to the northward in devouring the dead, as also of the vast extent of country over which the horrid practice has formerly obtained. Speaking of the country near the junction of the Darling and the Murray, he observes:—"On reaching the firm ground beyond, we came upon several old graves which had been disturbed, as the bones were seen protruding from the earth. Piper [a black native from the neighbourhood of Bathurst, who accompanied the expedition, and occasionally acted as interpreter] said that *the dead men were sometimes dug up and eaten*, but this I could not believe."² I have no doubt, however, that Piper was perfectly in the right.

† Intercourse with Europeans may probably modify the habits and customs of the natives in these respects, or they may vary considerably in different districts. A black jin or woman came to Captain Griffin's Station while I was there, with a half-caste

¹ Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. By Sir Thomas Mitchell, F. G. S. and M. R. G. S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales. Vol. II., p. 113.

² Ibid. p. 117.

At the Corrobbories that are always held on the occasion of these feasts upon the dead, the women chaunt songs or dirges, and strike upon their thighs with the palms of their hands by way of accompaniment. At

child, of about a fortnight old. She had been rubbing over its face, eyes, and ears, with a mixture of charcoal and grease, to bring it to what she doubtless considered a proper and more creditable colour. Mr. Griffin, jun., told me that when a month old she would in all likelihood murder the infant, by knocking it on the head with a waddy or club, as she had done with another child she had had of the same colour, whose skull she nevertheless carried about with her for a considerable time afterwards in her basket or dilly.

An old native woman, to whom Mr. Griffin, jun., had one day given some tea and bread, was reported to him as dead on the afternoon of the same day. On going to the place where the old woman was said to have been in the interval, he found a number of bushes thrown together in a particular spot. This excited his suspicion of what had really occurred; and, accordingly, on removing the bushes, he found the dead body, the skull having been fractured by the stroke of a waddy.

In regard also to the allegation of Davies, that the Aborigines never practise cannibalism on the bodies of their enemies, nor kill any person from the mere love of human flesh, there are certainly exceptions to this general rule. The German Missionaries having attempted to establish a subsidiary Mission Station at a place called *Umpie Bung*, or the dead houses, where there had once been a Government Settlement, now long abandoned, about thirty miles from their head-quarters; the hut they had erected for the purpose was attacked by the natives and broken into, when there was only one of the missionaries, Mr. Hausmann, a lay-brother, in charge of it. Mr. Hausmann was speared and severely wounded, but escaped into the bush, while the natives were busy collecting some flour and other articles of food which they found in the hut, and ultimately made his way to the head station. While they were endeavouring to effect an entrance, however, Mr. H. learned that they had a fire kindled to roast him, and he heard them observing to one another, in their own language, that "he was fat and would eat well."

The Rev. Mr. Tuckfield, also, the Wesleyan Missionary to the Aborigines at Buntingdale, in the Western District of Port Phillip, told me of a case which had fallen within his own observation, in which two natives of one tribe, who had a grudge against a third native of another tribe, and had surprised and killed him, had cut off a portion of his dead body, and cooked and eaten it.

These, however, appear to have been all remarkable cases and

Captain Griffin's Station there were three interesting native girls, about ten or eleven years of age, the grand-daughters of old Brandy Brandy, the chief of the district, who, by way of compliment to me, struck up a song of this kind as they were sitting on a bench close by the door of the house at which I was standing at the time, striking their thighs in the way I have described, and standing up together and leaping and clapping their hands in concert, as they became animated. The cadence was very simple, wild, and melodious, and reminded me strongly of some of the plaintive airs of the Highlands of Scotland. The name of one of the girls was Margaret, and that of each of the other two was Mary.

In corroboration of the account given me by Davies, I was informed by Mr. William Kent, at Brisbane, that several of the black natives having repeatedly robbed a settler's garden at Breakfast Creek, a few miles from the Settlement, the settler at last fired at them, and shot one of them, without intending, as it appeared, to wound any of them severely. The settler seeing one of the black-fellows fall and the others carrying him off across the creek, went to Captain Wickham, the Police Magistrate, on the following morning, to report what had happened. Captain W. immediately despatched two constables to the neighbourhood, who were to ascertain what had become of the wounded man, and to bring him up to the Court to give evidence in the case. But the unfortunate native having received the ball in his head had died almost immediately, and his body had been roasted and eaten that evening; his bones, packed up in a dilly, having actually been forwarded to his

exceptions to the general rule. At the same time, I would not have the reader to suppose that the practice of devouring the bodies of the dead, although generally prevalent to the northward, is at all universal in Australia. Even at the Logan River, within Moreton Bay, the dead are generally buried, as an intelligent squatter in that district informed me, and in other parts of the territory they are placed in hollow trees, or suspended in the forks of trees.

friends on the Logan River to afford them an opportunity of mourning over them before the constables appeared on the spot!

Mr. Griffin, jun., of the Pine River, informed me that a native woman in that neighbourhood, who was well known in the district, had died rather suddenly, being stout and fat at the time. Happening to pass along a valley immediately thereafter, he saw the dead body extended beside a fire, and a number of black natives around it, with pointed sticks, tearing off the outer skin and carefully placing it in a dilly. Afterwards the arms and legs were cut off, he believed, to be roasted and eaten.

The following is an account of two cases illustrative of the different modes of disposing of the dead at Moreton Bay, witnessed and described by the Rev. K. W. Schmidt, of the German Mission. It does not appear that the body was eaten in the first instance, the individual having died of an odious disease; but the second case strongly corroborates the account given me by Davies:—

There are different modes of disposing of the dead. As one instance, a man, who had died of a venereal disease, was wrapped up in tea-tree bark, and, after being brought to a solitary spot, was put on a frame-work, which was erected for this purpose, about eight or nine feet high; the place underneath was carefully cleared, and a large fire made close by. Before the corpse was put thereon, three men took it on their shoulders, and after an old man had made a hole in the bark, near the ear, and spoken a few words to the corpse, the men ran in the greatest hurry a short distance, and before leaving the place cried and rubbed their eyes till tears ran down their cheeks. The meaning of the words the old man spoke to the corpse was, "If thou comest to the other black-fellows and they ask thee who killed thee, answer, 'none, but I died.'" This shows plainly that they believe in immortality.

At another time I witnessed the following ceremony:—A boy of about twelve years of age had died of a liver complaint; the corpse was carried by the father to an open place in the forest, a large number of the tribe being in attendance. Three mourning women cleared the place, on which the father put the corpse, and after the women had made a fire close by, six old men placed themselves around the corpse, and touched it carefully with fire-brands; the whole party had placed themselves in a semi-circle, and the mother stood at a distance of four or five yards, howling and leaping.

The six men then plucked off the thin skin, and put it into a small bag, which was handed over to the master. Thereafter the whole corpse, *which naturally looked now quite white*, was blackened with charcoal, and then properly skinned with great expertness, except the hands, feet, and head. The whole skin was likewise put into a dilly, and handed over to the mother. After the shoulders and legs were cut off, and carefully roasted, the men left the belly, and the father, on opening it, and taking out the entrails, observed that the lungs were covered with sores, which he recognised at once as the cause of the death. The ribs, and some part of the entrails, were roasted; the rest were put into a little hole, upon which a few sticks were erected, with flowers betwixt them. During this ceremony, all present got up several times, and beat their heads with tomahawks, in such an awful manner, that the blood was streaming down their shoulders. The mother stood all the while—about three hours—leaping and howling. The branches of the surrounding trees were then broken, in order to let other people know what had taken place here. Then they returned to the camp, and the parents feasted upon the flesh of their own child, as I was informed next morning by other natives. The skin was afterwards dried on a spear, over a fire.

A further corroboration of the account given by Davies, and perhaps explanatory, also, of the purpose for which the stage, mentioned in the first of the two cases described by Mr. Schmidt, was intended, is contained in the following extract of a newspaper report, by Roderick Mitchell, Esq., one of the Commissioners of Crown Lands, for the district of Liverpool Plains, in New South Wales, of an excursion he had taken to the Bolloon River, in the north-western interior of that colony. The locality referred to by Mr. Mitchell, is south-west from Brisbane, distant, probably, about 400 miles.

“The habits of all the natives of this river are of the most disgusting character, involving a refinement upon cannibalism too sickening for your columns. Suffice it to say, that this tribe of blacks carried with them two bodies, from which they had extracted and consumed what is termed the *adipose matter*. When a party dies, a stage is immediately erected, consisting of a sheet of bark, drilled with holes like a sieve, fixed upon three posts. The body is placed upon this, and an opossum cloak being closely wrapped round the upper portion of it, small fires are kept burning at the two ends of the stage, and one underneath it. A large “*coulaman*” receives the matter thus extracted by the heat, and the tribe close round, and greedily consume, and rub their persons with, this horrible extract. After this, the bones and skin are closely

wrapped in an opossum cloak, and then rolled in a sheet of freshly stripped bark. The whole, covered with net-work, is then carried about by the tribe for a considerable time, and is ultimately deposited in some hollow log. Numbers of these stages are to be found on the Bolloon, and high up the Mooni Creek."

It is worthy of remark, as indicative, in all likelihood, of the course which, in one instance, at least, the Aborigines of Australia have pursued, in their ancient migrations to the southward, that there are a river and a creek, or chain of ponds, in the country visited by Mr. Mitchell, on the occasion referred to in the report, from which the preceding paragraph is extracted, distinguished respectively by the same native names as another river and creek, nearly a thousand miles distant, in the Port Phillip district. The *Barwan* River, in the north-western interior, which had been known for years previous as a Squatting District, has recently been identified by Mr. Mitchell with the Darling, the general receptacle of the western waters, that flow by the river Murray, into the Great Southern Ocean; and the *Mooni* Creek is one of the tributaries of that river. But in the Port Phillip District we find another *Barwon* River, flowing into the Southern Ocean, near Geelong, and another *Moonee* Creek, or chain of ponds, near Melbourne. Now, as the proper names of the Aborigines are always significant, and descriptive of the natural features, or qualities, of the localities to which they are applied, it is evident that the language originally spoken by the natives of these localities in Port Phillip, must have been identical with that of the Aborigines of the country recently visited by Mr. Mitchell, a thousand miles distant; and the only explanation of the fact I can suggest is, that the Port Phillip country was originally occupied by a tribe of Aborigines that had swarmed off from the tribes inhabiting the country at the sources of the Darling, and following down that river to the Murray, into which it disembogues, had afterwards ascended the latter river to the junction of the Goulburn, and proceeded up that stream to the southward and eastward, to Port Phillip, where

they at length gave the well-known names of the interior to the river and creek of the new region.*

But whether this conjecture is well founded or not, it is at least certain that the practice of devouring the dead is not unknown among the tribes on the Southern Ocean, a thousand miles from Moreton Bay. During my visit to Port Phillip in the month of January 1846, immediately after my return to Sydney from Moreton Bay, I visited the Wesleyan Mission Station at Buntingdale, on the Upper Barwon River, about thirty-seven miles to the westward of Geelong, and ascertained from the Rev. Mr. Tuckfield, the able and zealous missionary at that Station, that a case of the kind had fallen under his own observation. A native woman whose child had died at a considerable distance, came to the Mission Station, carrying something on her back. From some remark of one of the other natives who were present at the time, his suspicions in regard to the nature of her load were awakened, and with great difficulty he persuaded her to shew it him. It was the dead body of her child, of which she had already consumed a portion, the marks of her teeth being visible in its flesh. He requested her to give him the remaining portion of the body that he might bury it, but she refused. He offered her a quantity of flour for it, but she was still extremely reluctant to part with it. Mr. Tuckfield persevered, however, and she gave it him at last, receiving the flour in lieu of it. Mr. T., of course, buried the body; but the other natives, who knew the power of this most unaccountable superstition, on the minds of their race, told him she would be sure to dig it up again, and eat it notwithstanding. It is evident that it was not the mere amount of food, which the dead body of a child would form, that constituted the ruling passion of the mother in this case. The poor creature was under

* A singular confirmation of this theory has recently been afforded by Mr. Bunce of Port Phillip, a naturalist attached to Dr. Leichhardt's Expedition to Swan River, who has found many of the words used by the natives of the interior, towards Moreton Bay, to be identical with those in use among the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Melbourne.

the belief and conviction that she was discharging the bounden duty of a parent towards her child by devouring its remains; and if ever she reproached herself thereafter for having been an unnatural mother, I am persuaded it would be because she had given away a portion of the dead body of her child for a quantity of flour. In short, from the extensive prevalence of this horrific practice among the Aborigines of Australia, it cannot be doubted that it originates in the same ancient superstition which led the Scythians of antiquity, agreeably to the testimony of Pliny, to consider it not only an act of propriety, but of the greatest piety, to eat the dead bodies of their relatives. There is no doubt that this practice may have led many to relish human flesh, who would never otherwise have thought of the horrid repast, and to practice cannibalism, without such an excuse for it. There are indications of this having been the case even among the cannibals of New Zealand, where it has been the notorious practice from time immemorial to feast upon the dead bodies of enemies slain in battle. In certain cases it is held incumbent upon the relatives or clansmen of certain chiefs to eat some portion of their entrails after their death, and when the body of the chief has been in a state of putrefaction, before those who are under this obligation have seen it, they have endeavoured to fulfil the demands of the revolting superstition, by thrusting a stick into the bowels of the chief, and afterwards into the fire, and then chewing the stick. I do not pretend to explain either the origin or the object of the superstition in question; all I contend for is its extensive prevalence, and its high antiquity.

Another, and a most affecting instance of this superstition, and one that proves its perfect consistency with the strongest natural affection, was mentioned to me by the Rev. Mr. Tuckfield, as having occurred under his own eye. An interesting young Aboriginal native of the Western District in Port Phillip, of about seventeen years of age, had died of consumption. Mr. T. was not aware how the body had been disposed of at the time, and had never thought of making any inquiries

on the subject ; but eleven months thereafter, he found the mother of the young man, carrying his bones about with her in a bag on her back, as she had been doing during the whole period that had elapsed from his death, wherever she went. The probability is that the body had been devoured.

A considerable degree of mystery has all along prevailed in New South Wales Proper, or the Middle District, in regard to the disposal of the dead among the natives. They are very unwilling to give any information on the subject, and very few of the settlers know anything about it. That they bury the dead occasionally is unquestionable, but it is very difficult to ascertain whether they do so universally. The horror that all Europeans have at every thing like cannibalism, is soon observed by the natives, and tends to force the ancient practice, wherever it still obtains, into disuse ; but it is rather a suspicious circumstance in regard to the Aborigines of that part of the Territory generally, that whenever they wish to create a bad impression on the minds of the European Colonists, in reference to any other tribe besides their own, they uniformly accuse the other tribe of cannibalism. At all events, pieces of human flesh have occasionally been found in their bags.

Before noticing any other peculiar feature in the social system of the Papuan race in Australia, I would request the reader's permission to make a few additional remarks on the subject of cannibalism generally. Cannibalism, in its worst form, appears, therefore, to have been at one time very prevalent in the ancient world. Mr. Bryant observes, that Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius, and Aristotle in his Ethics, both mention the fact of its extensive prevalence, and intimate their own belief of it. The testimony of Aristotle on the subject is very remarkable.—

“ Πολλα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἃ πρὸς τὸ κτείνειν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώποφαγιαν εὐχερῶς ἔχει, καθάπερ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον Ἀχαιοὶ τε καὶ Ἡνιοχοί, καὶ ἡπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ἑτέροι.” “There are many nations, who do not scruple to kill men, and afterwards to feed upon their flesh. Among these we may reckon the nations of Pontus ;

such as the Achaeans, and the Heniochi, as well as other people upon that coast."

Euhemerus, a native of Magna Graecia, whose history of his country was translated into Latin by Ennius, relates that, "Saturn and Ops, and the men of that period generally, were accustomed to eat human flesh."* The Lamiae and Cyclopes, two ancient nations inhabiting Italy and Sicily, whom Mr. Bryant regards as a branch of the Cuthaeen race, or as children of Cush, were notorious for this horrible practice, if we can credit the general voice of antiquity; and the poetical fables of the Cyclops and of Scylla appear to have originated in the fear and horror which the notoriety of the fact produced among other and more civilized contemporary people. Euripides, in his Play, entitled *The Cyclops*, puts the following words into the mouth of one of his *Dramatis Personæ*:—

Γλυκυτάτα, Φησι, τὰ κρεῖα τοὺς ξένους φέρειν
Οὐδεὶς μολὼν δειρ', ὅστις οὐ κατεσφαγή.

Euripides, *Cyclops* V. 126, quoted by Bryant.

"The flesh of strangers who visit them, forms their sweetest repast: no person comes within their reach who is not devoured."

Or as it is translated by an unknown author, in one of the *Monthly Magazines*:—

Ulysses.—How like they strangers? are their manners bland?

Silenus.—Like them! they think them excellent when fresh.

Ulysses.—What, are they cannibals, and eat their flesh?

Silenus.—None ever came here but they ate them up.

Ulysses.—Ate them?

Silenus.—Aye, bones and all, so well they sup.

Homer also makes his hero Ulysses, give the following account of the doings of one of these Cyclops:—

"His bloody hand

Snatched two unhappy of my martial band,

And dashed like dogs against the rocky floor;

The pavement swims with brains and mingled gore.

Torn limb from limb, he spreads the horrid feast,

And fierce devours it like a mountain beast.

* "Saturnum et Opem, caeterosque tum homines, humanam carnem solitos esitare."

Ennii Hist. Sac. quoted by Lactantius apud Bryant.

He sucks the marrow, and the blood he drains ;
 Nor entrails,* flesh, nor solid bone remains.
 We see the death, from which we cannot move,
 And humbled groan beneath the hands of Jove.”
 Pope's Hom. *Odyss.*, I. 389.

And in regard to Scylla, Mr. Bryant observes, that Seneca in his 79th Epistle, states that “Scylla is a rock, and by no means formidable to mariners.”† “It was the temple,” Mr. B. adds, with great probability, “built of old upon that eminence, and the customs which prevailed within, that made it so detested.” The dogs, it seems, were priests who seized shipwrecked mariners, and offered them up in sacrifice to their infernal Divinities, and afterwards feasted upon their bodies. There were many of these temples, it would appear, around the Mediterranean, and they were dreaded and detested by “the ancient mariner,” as well they might.

It is not necessary, however, to go back to the ages

* Virgil alleges, in accordance with the quotations already given respecting the cannibalism of the ancient Scythians, that that of the Cyclopes had some particular reference to the *entrails* of the victims ; for in describing the feat of Polyphemus, referred to both by Homer and Euripides, he uses the following expression —

Visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.
Æneid III. 622.

The horrid monster greedily devours
 Their quivering entrails, and their streaming blood.

The eating of the entrails of an animal offered in sacrifice was, in the case of certain gods, a necessary part of the sacrifice. “The *Pinarii* happening to come too late to the sacrifice, after the entrails were eaten up, (*extis adesitis*) were, by the appointment of Hercules, never after permitted to taste the entrails.” Adam's Roman Antiq. Art., Ministers of Religion. In other cases they were otherwise disposed of. Thus *Æneas*, when embarking for Italy from Sicily, is represented as throwing the entrails of the sacrifice into the sea.

Stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
Porricit in fluctus. Virg. V. 775.

† *Scyllam saxum esse, et quidem non terribile navigantibus.*

of fable to find proofs of the existence of the horrid practice of cannibalism in ancient Europe. It appears to have prevailed to a comparatively late period, even among the ancient Romans. In the first ages of the Republic, human sacrifices were offered annually, and Pliny observes, in reference to a decree of the Senate that finally abolished them, *but not until the year of Rome 657*, that it was customary on such occasions to eat the victims. *Sustulère monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.* Lib. xxx.

Nay, the historian Gibbon seems to think it not improbable that cannibalism was practised even in Scotland, so late as in the fourth century of the Christian era. His words are as follows:—

“A valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by an eye witness of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicious and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repast. If in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere.”—Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. III., p. 290.

Let the reader recollect, therefore, that although the Papuans are decided cannibals, in so far as the eating of human flesh is concerned, they are guiltless of the atrocities with which that horrific practice was anciently both accompanied and preceded, in the very heart of Europe,—the hunting and slaying of men for their flesh; and especially let us not subject them to a general sentence of excommunication from the pale of humanity, because—in compliance with the demands of a superstition of powerful influence, and of the highest antiquity, but of the origin and object of which history has left

us no trace, and reason can offer no satisfactory solution—they eat the dead bodies of their relatives and friends, whether they have fallen in battle, or under the stroke of disease. If there is nothing absolutely sinful in the practice—and it would be difficult to prove that there is—we should, at least, recollect the maxim, *De gustibus non disputandum*.

The Aborigines of Australia never mention the name of a deceased native, and they seem distressed when any European happens to do so;* but at Moreton Bay they usually carve the emblem or coat of arms of the tribe to which he belonged on the bark of a tree close to the spot where he died. The first of these affecting memorials of Aboriginal mortality which I happened to see was pointed out to me near Breakfast Creek, by Mr. Wade, on our return to Brisbane from the Pine River. The rain was pouring down in torrents at the time, but I immediately reined up my horse to the tree, and remained fixed to the spot for a few minutes, till I fancied I could identify the rude carving on the bark with the raised figures on the breasts of the Aboriginal tribe of the Brisbane District. So very interesting a circumstance naturally gave rise to a peculiar train of thought, and I endeavoured to embody in the following epitaph the intelligence and feelings which this simple monumental emblem of the Papuan race would doubtless convey to the wandering Aborigines:—

STOP, TRAVELLER, AND DROP A TEAR !
 HERE DIED,
 OF WOUNDS HE HAD RECEIVED IN BATTLE,
 WHEN FIGHTING GLORIOUSLY FOR THE HONOUR OF HIS DISTRICT,
 YELLAMUNDY,
 A FREE BORN, INDEPENDENT, AUSTRALIAN BRAVE,
 OF THE TRIBE, WHOSE DISTINCTIVE EMBLEM, OR ARMORIAL BEARING,
 THOU BEHOLDEST ENGRAVEN ON THIS TREE.
 HIS FLESH
 WAS CONSUMED IN SORROW BY HIS KINDRED AROUND THE FUNERAL
 FIRES,

* It was deemed a violation of propriety in ancient Athens to mention the word *death* in genteel society.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ANCIENT AND HALLOWED CUSTOMS
OF THE CHILDREN OF CUSH :
HIS BONES
WERE DULY MOURNED OVER BY THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES,
AND THEN BORNE ALONG WITH THEM BY HIS KINDRED, IN ALL THEIR
MIGRATIONS,
FOR MANY A MOON ;
TILL, THE DAYS OF APPOINTED MOURNING BEING ENDED, THEY WERE
DEPOSITED AT LENGTH,
IN THEIR LAST RESTING-PLACE,
A HOLLOW TREE :
BUT HIS SKIN,
DRIED AND TANNED, AFTER THE MANNER OF HIS COUNTRY,
IS STILL PRESERVED BY THE WARRIORS OF HIS TRIBE,
AS A CHERISHED MEMORIAL OF THEIR ONCE FAITHFUL COMPANION,
AS WELL AS A POWERFUL SPELL
AGAINST WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY.

I have already adverted to the wonderful diversity of languages observable among the Aborigines of Australia—a phenomenon so remarkable in itself, and so remarkably similar to what has been observed and commented on so very unwarrantably by Dr. Von Martius, among the barbarous aboriginal tribes of the Brazils. There seems, however, to be the same affinity between the different aboriginal languages of Australia as there is between those of America; for Humboldt has observed that it is much easier for an American Indian to learn any Indo-American language of which there may, notwithstanding, not be a single word identical with the corresponding word in his own, than to learn any European language whatever. There seem to be peculiar channels in which the stream of thought is made to flow among the different great divisions of the family of man in the formation of language, giving a specific and distinctive character to all the languages connected with one of these great channels, notwithstanding the greatest difference in the particular words of each as compared with those of others; so that languages of the aboriginal stock, or “old connexion,” are much easier for an Indo-American or an Australian Papuan to learn than those of “the new connexion,” or European stock. The languages of the same stock

may be of very different materials as respects each other, or, in other words, the corresponding words in each may be very different, but still they have all been cast, so to speak, in the same common mould; their grammatical construction is identical, or nearly so, and the stream of thought in the formation of them all has evidently flowed in the same channel. And this identity of grammatical construction in their respective languages, is a far stronger proof of affinity between different nations than any fancied resemblance between different words of their respective tongues. I was led to remark this phenomenon of language on observing, many years ago, the remarkable affinity between the grammatical construction of the Polynesian and Indo-Chinese families of language, and the absence of every thing like a bond of union or common formative principle between these languages and those of the western world. And in the year 1840, when I had the pleasure of meeting with the late Dr. Du Ponceau, one of the greatest linguists of the age, at Philadelphia, and he did me the honour to ask me, as a minister of religion, what I thought had been the nature of the divine interposition in the confusion of tongues at Babel—whether it was a mere dialectic distinction that had been produced, or a radical difference in the whole form and structure of different languages? and I mentioned the strong impression produced on my own mind by the phenomena to which I have just referred (in reference to the Polynesian and Indo-Chinese languages, as compared with those of the west), that the divine interposition at Babel must have consisted not in the production of mere dialectic differences, but in scooping out, so to speak, new and totally different channels for the stream of thought to flow in in the formation of language. Dr. Du Ponceau observed that his own opinion on the subject was precisely the same.

The Aborigines of Australia give distinctive and remarkably appropriate names, descriptive either of the natural features of the scenery or of the physical qualities by which it is distinguished, to every remarkable

locality in the country ; and the number of these names, and the consequent facility with which the natives can make appointments with each other, are incredible to a European.

Nullum sine nomine saxum.

Every rock, river, creek, mountain, hill, or plain, has its native name. Thus Mount *Djerran*, or the Dreadful Mountain, in Upper Hunter's River, is a mountain abounding in deep, dark ravines and frightful precipices ; *Cabramatta*, or the Cabra pools, is a locality about twenty-five miles from Sydney, in which there are several large pools of water abounding with the Cabra insect—a species of *Teredo*, which burrows in timber under water, resembling the contents of a marrow-bone—of which the natives are remarkably fond.

The names of individuals are sometimes descriptive of some peculiarity in the appearance of the individual, as *Gnunnyege** *merr-woorrook*, “Small-eyed maid,” the name of a female child in the Western District of Port Phillip, remarkable at its birth for the smallness of its eyes ; or commemorative of some remarkable event coeval with the birth of the child, as *Burdy-kang-nook*, “Spear-nose-boy,” the name of a male child in the same locality, whose father happened to spear a kangaroo in the nose the day it was born.

There is nothing that so strongly exhibits the superior intellectual capacity of the Papuan race as the facility with which they can give names to objects or implements of European civilization, with the nature or uses of which they are totally unacquainted. In the exercise of this inventive faculty, indeed, they seem to be greatly superior even to the lighter or Polynesian race. When the latter, for example, were first visited by European missionaries, and had frequent opportunities of seeing books in the hands of the missionaries, they had no native name, of course, for the strange

* Pronounced Nghunnyeghe.

object at which they saw the white strangers constantly looking, and no conception whatever of its use; and they waited patiently, therefore, without venturing to give it a name, till the missionaries told them what it was and what to call it. It has consequently received the English name, with the change necessary to suit the genius of the language, both at Tahiti and New Zealand, being called, in both islands, *Buka*, or *Buka-buka*. But the Papuan native of Australia scorned to be indebted to the white man for a name for this foreign object or implement, or to confess the same poverty of invention as the Polynesian had exhibited; and the mental process by which he invented an appropriate native name for it is as amusing as it is original. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that the black native of Moreton Bay was not made acquainted with books in the mere infancy of literature, like the ancient Greek or Roman, who named them respectively from the Egyptian reed or the inner bark of a tree,* of which paper was anciently made. His first acquaintance with literature is in all likelihood made through one of the latest issues from the press of Albemarle Street, London, brought out by one of the last arrivals in the Colony, in the shape of a flashy octavo, bound in cloth and embossed. This object, therefore, he examines with the keen eye of a naturalist, anxious to ascertain, from its external characteristics, under what order, class, and genus in the *Systema Naturae* he ought to place the undescribed plant, mineral, or animal he has discovered. He observes, accordingly, that the European implement or book has two covers or shells of a bluish colour, finely streaked and marked; that it opens and shuts, and that it has a hinge at the back: and, in virtue of these characteristics, he assigns it its proper place at once in his system, and names it *Mooyoom*, a muscle! Nay, from this root he forms a derivative or compound to designate General Literature,

or every thing that is done with the book, whether in the shape of reading, writing, or arithmetic; for all this he designates *mooyoom-yacca*, or muscle-work: and I may add, that for this species of work, however scanty the portion he may have performed of it, the black native expects to be paid by the poor missionary as regularly as the ablest contributor to the London Times, or the Edinburgh Review.

The same principle is observable in the multiplication of derivatives or compound words, from a comparatively small number of primitives in the native language itself. Thus *Beegy*, the sun, may be supposed to be one of the oldest words in the language of the Aborigines at Moreton Bay; but the reduplication of that word, or *beegy-beegy*, is the name of an object possessing the peculiar quality of the sun, a bright yellow colour, in a high degree—the Regent-bird. Again, relationship of any kind to the object designated by the primitive word, is expressed by adding to it the affix *oba* or *aba*. Thus *Beegy*, the sun; *beegy-oba*, a European object or implement that serves the same purpose as the sun to the white man, by telling him the time—a watch.

A few other instances of the latter of these principles will exhibit, in some measure, the genius and power of the language. Thus, *tarang*, the thigh; *tarang-aba*, thigh-clothes or trousers. *Mawgool*, the head; *mawgool-aba*, a hat; *mullera*, a black-fellow; *mullera-g-aba*, something belonging to a black-fellow. Here the letter *g* is evidently paragogic, being inserted, as is not unusual in more polished languages, *causâ euphoniae*, or for the sake of sound; for the black native seems to have rather a good ear. *Paiango*, sick; *paiango-ba*, sick-stuff or medicine. Here one short vowel, preceded by another short vowel, suffers elision, as in the same polished languages already referred to.

The affix *do* has some transforming power inherent in it, the nature of which I did not exactly ascertain; as *taratchin-do*, from *taratchin*, a white man. But the affix *co* performs the important function of changing

nouns into verbs; as *dabil*, water; *dabil-co*, to go watering, or to fetch water.

The word *yacca* in the Moreton Bay dialect of the Aboriginal language, is one of those unfortunate words that has more than double duty to perform. It signifies every thing in the shape of service or performance from the first incipient attempts at motion, to the most violent exertion, and it usually takes its signification from the noun to which it is appended, as in the instance I have given above, *mooyoom-yacca*, to read, to write, or to cast accounts.*

The following is a specimen of the Moreton Bay dialect of the Aboriginal language:—

<i>Biro</i> (term of address),	Sir.
<i>Malar</i> , . . .	Man.
<i>Byng</i> , . . .	Father.
<i>Butang</i> , . . .	Mother.
<i>Awang</i> , . . .	Brother.
<i>Tading</i> , . . .	Sister.
<i>Dalo</i> , or <i>goyum</i> , . . .	Fire.
<i>Darkanbean</i> , . . .	Cane.
<i>Mooyum</i> , . . .	Paper, Book.
<i>Dourour</i> , . . .	Net.
<i>Dingal</i> , . . .	Fat.
<i>Waiaroo</i> , . . .	Hungry.

* It is very difficult now to ascertain what are really the peculiar words of any particular dialect or language among the Aborigines in the Moreton Bay district—there is such a confusion of tongues, especially in their intercourse with Europeans. A considerable number of the words of the Sydney Aboriginal dialect, known to the convicts, or other white persons, in the earlier period of the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay, were naturally enough made use of in attempting to hold communication with the black natives. These words, which were quite as unintelligible to the natives as the corresponding words in the vernacular language of the white men would have been, were learned by the natives, and are now commonly used by them in conversing with Europeans, as English words. Thus *corrobory*, the Sydney word for a general assembly of natives, is now commonly used in that sense at Moreton Bay; but the original word there is *yanerwille*. *Cabon*, great; *narang*, little; *boodgeriee*, good; *myall*, wild native, &c. &c. are all words of this description, supposed by the natives to be English words, and by the Europeans to be Aboriginal words of the language of that district.

<i>Nangka,</i>	.	.	.	Hot.
<i>Danton,</i>	.	.	.	Cold.
<i>Marumba,</i>	.	.	.	Good.
<i>Bagooroo,</i>	.	.	.	Stick, Tree.
<i>Magul,</i>	.	.	.	Head.
<i>Kapui,</i>	.	.	.	Hair.
<i>Mulroo,</i>	.	.	.	Nose.
<i>Pitney,</i>	.	.	.	Ear.
<i>Mill,</i>	.	.	.	Eye.
<i>Durdur,</i>	.	.	.	Neck.
<i>Doogai,</i>	.	.	.	Tail.
<i>Sidney,</i>	.	.	.	Foot.
<i>Deea,</i>	.	.	.	Teeth, or Edge.
<i>Ammoo,</i>	.	.	.	Breast, Milk.
<i>Yamma,</i>	.	.	.	Arm.
<i>Marra,</i>	.	.	.	Hand.
<i>Dabil,</i>	.	.	.	Water.
<i>Dar,</i>	.	.	.	Earth.
<i>Yarun,</i>	.	.	.	Hunting-Ground.
<i>Mogara,</i>	.	.	.	Thunder.
<i>Turumturum,</i>	.	.	.	Rain.
<i>Umpie,</i>	.	.	.	House.
<i>Gondol,</i>	.	.	.	Bark, and Boat (because made of bark.)
<i>Gargar,</i>	.	.	.	Gum-Tree.
<i>Danduru,</i>	.	.	.	Iron-Bark.
<i>Boona,</i>	.	.	.	Blood-Wood.
<i>Boruda,</i>	.	.	.	Forest-Oak.
<i>Dabilbello,</i>	.	.	.	Box-Tree.
<i>Binempta,</i>	.	.	.	Blood-Gum.
<i>Gambarto,</i>	.	.	.	Fir-Tree.
<i>Greeba,</i>	.	.	.	Ebb-Tide.
<i>Younggurba,</i>	.	.	.	Flood-Tide.
<i>Dunkay,</i>	.	.	.	East Wind.
<i>Borru,</i>	.	.	.	West Wind.
<i>Andeikal,</i>	.	.	.	Mullet.
<i>Boygun,</i>	.	.	.	Whiting.
<i>Woulan,</i>	.	.	.	Bream.
<i>Dagan,</i>	.	.	.	Cat-Fish.
<i>Dabil ban,</i>	.	.	.	Salt Water.
<i>Nokum,</i>	.	.	.	Vessel.
<i>Dabira,</i>	.	.	.	Shield.
<i>Billar,</i>	.	.	.	Spear.
<i>Warlee,</i>	.	.	.	Bad.
<i>Koola,</i>	.	.	.	Displeased, angry.
<i>Ban,</i>	.	.	.	Dirty, nasty, very angry.
<i>Ganar,</i>	.	.	.	One.
<i>Burla,</i>	.	.	.	Two.
<i>Burla ganar,</i>	.	.	.	Three.
<i>Burla burla,</i>	.	.	.	Four.

<i>Korumba</i> , . . .	More than four, much, great.
<i>Atta</i> , . . .	I.
<i>Inta</i> , . . .	Thou.
<i>Ariba</i> , . . .	Belonging to me.
<i>Enuba</i> , . . .	Belonging to thee
<i>Meniänti</i> , . . .	Why?
<i>Menäh</i> , . . .	What?
<i>Menango</i> , . . .	What is the matter?
<i>Yarwoi</i> , . . .	Yes.
<i>Yagar</i> , . . .	No.
<i>Vireenna</i> , . . .	Arrive.
<i>Balkali</i> , . . .	Come.
<i>Dalto</i> , . . .	Eat.
<i>Barter</i> , . . .	Bite.
<i>Bogan</i> , . . .	Sleep.
<i>Woorä</i> , . . .	Put down, lie down.
<i>Boguë</i> , . . .	Swim.
<i>Bouwaia</i> , . . .	Dive.
<i>Mill-mill</i> , . . .	See, look—literally, eye-eye.
<i>Pitney</i> , . . .	Hear, understand.
<i>Yarto</i> , . . .	Go.
<i>Kindänné</i> , . . .	Laugh.
<i>Burrina</i> , . . .	Quickly, hasty.
<i>Gandanti</i> , . . .	Slow.
<i>Garba</i> , . . .	Another.
<i>Garwaliko</i> , . . .	} Yesterday, or time past—probably English.
(q. Good while ago,)	
<i>Mullago</i> , or <i>Unungabo</i> ,	To-morrow.
<i>Wooppa</i> , . . .	White.
<i>Gorun</i> , . . .	Black.
<i>Kibbom</i> , . . .	Moon.
<i>Beeké</i> , . . .	Sun.
<i>Boguru</i> , . . .	String.
<i>Wolumyan</i> , . . .	Shell.
<i>Kuttee</i> , . . .	} To black themselves with grease and charcoal.
<i>Wunna</i> , . . .	
	Where?

SENTENCES.—*Intangan?* What is your name? *Wunna yar-un matar?* Where are the blacks of the district? *Inta wunna yanmana?* Where do you go to? Answer—*woulanco, darco, dabülco*;—to catch fish, to work the ground, to fetch water.—(The affixed syllable *co* having the effect of changing the noun to which it is joined into something like an active verb, of which that noun expresses the action.) *Andeikal inta manan?* Have you fish? *Andeikal yagar, woulän yagar; dabil waiaroo.*—Answer—There is no mullet nor bream: the water is hungry. *Menüh inta mar-ra?* What will you work?—Answer—*Inta pitney*;—you know. *Biro, atta waiaroo, ariba* “fire island;” I am hungry: give me bread. (The first biscuit they ever saw they received from the

crew of a boat belonging to the "Five Islands," from which it has received this name.)

As a proof that the Papuan race is not so utterly devoid of intellectual capacity as is alleged by certain interested parties in the colony of New South Wales, I may add that they have actually given names to several of the constellations, as "the black-fellow and his jin," which I believe is their name for the constellation Gemini; and "the black-fellow in his canoe." Their poetry also is by no means contemptible, and although it generally consists only of a single couplet, it has always the credit of being the immediate offspring of inspiration, in common with the more extended productions of the ancient Greeks and Romans. And when a new song *has been revealed*, (for this is actually the language that is used on the subject by these children of nature,) to any favourite of the Muse, the tribe to which he belongs learn the song in the first instance, and then communicate it, as it seems they consider it incumbent on them to do, to the next tribe. That tribe learn the song also, and pass it in the same way to the tribe beyond it, insomuch that songs are often sung by the natives in the language of a far-distant tribe which they do not understand.* The following is one of these songs, composed by a native of the Cowpasture District, with a pretty free translation, or rather paraphrase:—

PARAPHRASE AND TRANSLATION OF A SONG OF THE ABORIGINES.

Ngaan nubang dhuraa ?
Barrabooring gil-waa!
A warrior lies in yonder dell,
His eye-lids closed for ever!
Heroes! I slew him, and he fell
Near Warragumby river.
Who is he ere we dig his grave?
Come tell me in the song.
Oh, he is like a warrior brave,
Bold Barrabooring.

* In the month of June 1846, about a fortnight before I left New South Wales for England, Tomlawry, the chief of the tribe

Now, although this song consists of nothing more, in the original, than the apparently simple question and answer, "Who is it that I speared? He is like Barrabooring," it appears to me to contain, especially in what the lawyers would call its inuendoes, the very soul of poetry. The victorious native, returning from the single combat in which he has slain his antagonist, informs the tribe assembled in Corrobory, that he has slain some enemy, and asks them exultingly, Who it is? Every one, of course, fixes on some individual of inferior note in the hostile tribe, not supposing that one, who had, perhaps, never distinguished himself before, would have ventured to measure spears with a more eminent antagonist. They are all, of course, at fault, and the victor at once relieves them from their suspense, and excites their astonishment and admiration, by giving them to understand that the enemy he has slain is Barrabooring, the principal warrior of the hostile tribe, of whom they had all previously been afraid. The effect of this intelligence on the assembled natives must be greatly heightened by the dramatic style in which it is communicated. The victor does not say expressly that it *is* Barrabooring, he only says it is like him,—they may ascertain the fact for themselves, if they have any doubt of it. Besides, this way of proclaiming the fact tends greatly to raise the character of the victor in the estimation of his tribe. It is exactly in the style of the speech of a gallant Colonel, now in New South Wales, when his own health and that of his regiment was drunk, in the month of June last, at a public dinner in Sydney,—“The —— (mentioning the number of his regiment) had done their duty, and they were ready to do it again.” In like manner, the victor, in the case before us, had doubtless speared Barra-

that usually resides on my brother's property of Dunmore, Hunter's River, went up to Patrick's Plains, about thirty miles distant, to learn a new song that had just been revealed to some native poet in that district. It seems also that when the Muse has revealed one couplet to the poet, the tribe remains stationary in the place till she enables him to add other two.

booriong; but distinguished as that hero was, in the annals of aboriginal warfare, only shew him a better man, and he was ready to spear him too. In short, if the Papuan Homer had only a Colonial Eustathius to explain his meaning, and to bring out his beauties, there is no doubt that his claim to a niche in the temple of fame would be universally acknowledged.

The natives are passionately fond of music, and singing, accompanied with beating on the shield with a club, or on the thighs with the open palm, leaping, dancing, and clapping of hands, is one of the chief amusements of their merry Corrobbories. The words, on these occasions, are often *extempore*, and simple enough;* but any joyous idea that occurs to the principal performer, who acts the part of an Italian improvisatore, is immediately expressed in the cadence of the song, and repeated again and again by the delighted company. Games, in mock imitation of a kangaroo or emu hunt, in which the bodies of the performers are fantastically decorated and painted, are also a never-failing accompaniment of these merry meetings, which, at least, in their native and unsophisticated state, are never disgraced by scenes of beastly intoxication.†

* As for instance, *Bibalah gallon, bibalah gallon*, "bread is good, bread is good," repeated a thousand times. I suspect, however, that *bibalah* is merely a native corruption of the English words, *Five Islands*.—See p. 450.

† The following is a description of a Corrobbory, by Sir Thomas Mitchell:—

This amusement always takes place at night, and by the light of blazing boughs. They dance to beaten time, accompanied by a song. The dancers paint themselves white, in such remarkably varied ways, that no two individuals are at all alike. The surrounding darkness seems necessary to the effect of the whole, all these dancers being more or less dramatic; the painted figures coming forward in mystic order, from the obscurity of the back ground, while the singers and beaters of time are invisible, have a highly theatrical effect. Each dance seems most tastefully progressive, the merriment being at first slow, and introduced by two persons, displaying the most graceful motions, both of arms and legs, while others, one by one, drop in, until each, imperceptibly wearing into the truly savage attitude of the "Corrobbory" jump,—the legs striding to the utmost; the head turned over one

The subject of religion, however interesting and important, is one upon which, unfortunately, there is little to be said in reference to the Aborigines of Australia, and that little is entirely in the form of negation. They have no idea of a Supreme Divinity, the Creator and Governor of the world, the witness of their actions, and their future Judge. They have no object of worship, even of a subordinate and inferior rank. They have no idols, no temples, no sacrifices. In short, they have nothing whatever of the character of religion, or of religious observance, to distinguish them from the beasts that perish. They live "without God in the world."

Count Strzelecki, to whom I have already had occasion to refer, has, doubtless, maintained a somewhat different opinion, giving the Aborigines credit for a degree of religious knowledge, and religious feeling, quite refreshing to contemplate. "One fact appears certain," observes the Count,—"*they recognise a God, though they never name him in their vernacular language, but call him in English, 'Great Master,' and consider themselves his slaves. They believe in an immortality,*

shoulder; the eyes glaring, and fixed with savage energy in one direction; the arms raised, and inclined towards the head; the hands usually grasping *waddies*, *bommerengys*, or other warlike weapons. The jump now keeps time with each beat, and at each leap the dancer takes six inches to one side, all being in a connected line, led by the first dancer. The line is doubled, or tripled, according to space and numbers; and this gives great effect, for when the great line jumps to the *left*, the second jumps to the *right*, the third to the *left* again, and so on, until the action acquires due intensity, when all simultaneously and suddenly stop. The excitement which this dance produces in the savage is very remarkable. However listless the individual, laying half asleep, perhaps, as they usually are when not intent on game, set him to this dance, and he is fired with sudden energy,—every nerve is strung to such a degree that he is no longer to be recognised as the same individual, until he ceases to dance, and comes to you again. There can be little doubt but that the Corrobory is the medium through which the delights of poetry and the drama are enjoyed, in a limited degree, even by these primitive savages of New Holland.—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. &c. By Sir T. L. Mitchell, &c. &c. Vol. ii. p. 5.*

or after-existence, of everlasting enjoyment, and place its locality in the stars, or other constellations, of which they have a perfect knowledge.”*

Now, I confess I have always been very sceptical in regard to the ideas alleged by certain travellers to be entertained by barbarous tribes on the subject of God and of religion. The Apostle Paul informs us, that “the world,” that is the Grecian and Roman world, “by wisdom knew not God;” and are we to suppose that the American Indians, with the comparatively pure and exalted ideas they are alleged by certain writers to entertain of the Great Spirit, and the miserable Aborigines of Australia, who, according to Count Strzelecki, are equally good theologians, have attained to a knowledge in Divine things which escaped the keenest researches of the sages of Greece and Rome? Aristotle, who, in point of genius and acquirements, was perhaps the first of the Grecian philosophers, had, nevertheless, no higher idea of the Supreme Divinity than that of a skilful artificer, who could construct creatures and systems of suitable materials *previously supplied to his hand*; and are we to suppose that the American Indian, or the Papuan of Australia, has been able to see farther into the system of the universe than that illustrious sage? “The invisible things of God, even his eternal power and Godhead,” are, doubtless, clearly perceivable from the works of his hands; but it is not merely a matter of question, whether any mortal has ever attained, by this process, to the knowledge of God; it is a matter of fact that no mortal ever has. It may be contrary, indeed, to the pre-conceived ideas, or the philosophical system, of certain writers, to admit that there is any portion of the human race living entirely without a religion, without a God; but the Papuan Aborigines of Australia are, unfortunately, not the only instances of the fact.

Dr. Vanderkemp, a missionary of high character and standing, who devoted himself to the cause of missions

* Strzelecki, p. 339.

among the Hottentots of South Africa, observes, in reference to the Kaffres, another African nation, "If by religion we mean reverence for God, or the external action by which that reverence is expressed, I never could perceive that they had any religion, or any idea of the existence of a God. *They have no word in their language to express the idea of the Deity.* They worship nothing in heaven or earth, and no fragments or ruins remain that could indicate that their fathers knew anything beyond their descendants."*

Count Strzelecki informs us, almost in the words of Dr. Vanderkemp respecting the Kaffres, that the Aborigines of New Holland have no word in their *own* language to express the idea of the Deity; but it seems they have an *English* word to express that idea—the meaning of which evidently is, that they express the traveller's own idea by any English word he chooses to put into their mouths, nodding assent to all he says in a foreign and unknown tongue, from sheer politeness.

I have already referred to Mr. Moffat the missionary's account of the habitations of the Bechuanas, another African nation. "These beings," observes a writer in the North British Review, for November, 1845, on the authority of the missionaries, "had no ideas of anything beyond this world. Several, interrogated by the missionaries Schmelin, Campbell, and Moffat, declared that they had no idea whatever of a God or devil, or any spirit, of a future state, or immortality of the soul; and yet they had in general acute intellects and excellent memories."*

Nay, the Danish Government having recently had an exploratory expedition, under the command of Captain Graah, an able and zealous naval officer of that country, on the coast of Greenland, the same reviewer informs us that "Captain Graah praises highly the honesty, hospitality, and, according to their own ideas, the

* See North British Review for November, 1845.

good manners and politeness of these heathens, (the Esquimaux of Davis' Straits.) They have no religion, no prayers, sacrifices, or other religious observances; but they have a notion of higher unembodied beings, and ascribe a spirit or power to fire, water, air, the ocean, &c."*

In answer to a question which I proposed in writing to the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, as to whether the natives of that district had any idea of a God, or any object of worship, Mr. S. states, after seven years' residence among the natives, and with those superior facilities for acquiring accurate information on the subject which a knowledge of their language may be supposed to imply, "I have not been able to trace amongst them the idea of any superior being; they have likewise no idols."† Whether Mr. Schmidt or Count Strzelecki was likely to be the best informed on this important point, I leave the reader to judge.

That the whole Papuan race should have been found destitute of the knowledge of a God or of religion, is perhaps not more surprising than that almost every trace of this divine knowledge should have disappeared at a comparatively early period in the history of the post-diluvian world, among all the other Gentile nations. The more spiritual the theology and worship of Noah and his immediate posterity were, the more speedily were they likely to be forgotten, in the subsequent dispersions of their later descendants. Now although history informs us that there has been a general tendency in mankind, in proportion as they lost sight of the pure theology and worship of primeval antiquity, to substitute some visible object of worship for the true God, and the grossest and most debasing observances and superstitions for that homage of the understanding, the

* Danish Researches in Greenland. Reviewed in North British Review, November, 1845.

† Davies, or Darumboy, gave me precisely the same answer to a similar question.

heart, and the affections, which he requires, it is too much to assume that this tendency was ever universal. On the contrary, as human nature is much the same in all ages as well as in all states of society, I am persuaded we shall reason much more correctly in regard to what must have taken place in the earlier ages of the world, by attending more carefully to what is actually passing under our own eyes. Is it not the fact, therefore, throughout the Christian world, that while the general tendency of mankind in Roman Catholic countries has been to substitute some visible object of worship for the true God of the New Testament and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, as the Madonna and child, the images of imaginary saints, the crucifix, dead men's bones, and the Holy Coat, and to substitute for the pure and spiritual worship of the New Testament a number of superstitious practices and observances, that can neither enlighten the understanding nor improve the heart;—nay, is it not the fact that while the general tendency of mankind, even in Protestant countries, is to make their religion consist entirely in a few formal and outward observances, there is a large proportion of the population in both of these countries, both of the higher and intellectual, and of the humbler or working classes, who continue to live as completely without a religion of any kind as if there were no God at all, and no future account, no heaven and no hell—as completely, in short, as the Papuan Aborigines of Australia, or as the beasts that perish? And why should it appear strange that a race without civilization, and without means of instruction of any kind for thousands of years, should be found living in precisely the same state in regard to religion in which thousands and tens of thousands of our own countrymen are actually living at this moment, with all the appliances of civilization around them, and all the means of instruction which the general prevalence of Christianity has supplied? There are evidently, therefore, two strong tendencies in mankind in the matter of religion—the one is to superstition, inducing them to form lords many and gods

many ; the other is to absolute irreligion, leading them to live entirely without a God and without a religion : and the more spiritual the system of theology and worship under which mankind are placed, the more strongly will the latter of these tendencies be developed.

It appears to me, therefore, that the absence of everything like a religion among the Papuan Aborigines of Australia is a strong presumptive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the race. Had the forefathers of that race not been cut off from the rest of mankind, by their own successive and distant migrations towards the east, before the invention of idols or of any other visible objects of worship, the probability is that they would have carried these idols along with them, and continued to worship them to the present day, "on every high hill and under every green tree." But they simply "forgot God," and lived thenceforth "without God in the world." And the consequence of this forgetfulness of God, combined with their gradual isolation from the rest of mankind, in circumstances that rendered their wide dispersion and their abandonment of everything like the habits of civilization a matter of necessity, as in Australia, was their sinking gradually into their present abject condition of intellectual and moral debasement.

I infer, therefore, from the absence of everything like idolatry, in any of its numerous forms and phases, among the Papuan Aborigines of Australia, in conjunction with the other moral phenomena observable in that singular race, that they were originally a branch of the family of Cuth or Cush, which emigrated to the eastward, from the first settlements of the human race after the deluge, in the very infancy of the postdiluvian world ; but not until the peculiar practices and superstitions of the antediluvians in regard to the dead had been revived generally in that family.*

* Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, in his *Key to the Apostolical Writings, with a Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, observes, "That in about four hundred years after the flood, the

It is evident from the superstitious practices of the natives already related, that they have some vague and indistinct idea that death is not an entire extinction of our being; and since white men have come among them, they generally allege that after death they go to England and become white men. The origin of this idea, however, is so very obvious, as originating in their mode of disposing of the dead, that but little importance can be attached to it as a cue to the ideas they entertained on the subject previous to their knowledge of the existence of Europeans. In their lamentations over the dead they frequently exclaim, in a melancholy strain—*Wounah? Wounah?* Where is he? Where is he? And it is evident they imagine that the individual comes in contact with other deceased natives in “the land o’ the leal.” To these deceased natives also they ascribe the power of exerting a malignant influence of some kind, of which they are greatly afraid.

There are certain traditions among the Aborigines that appear to me to have somewhat of an Asiatic character and aspect. *Buddai*, or as it is pronounced by the Aborigines towards the mountains in the Moreton Bay district, *Budjah*, (quasi *Buddha*,) they regard as the common ancestor of their race, and describe as an old man of great stature, who has been lying asleep for ages, with his head leaning on one arm, and the arm buried deep in the sand. A long time ago *Bud-dai* awoke and got up, and the whole country was overflowed with water; and when he awakes and gets up again, he will devour all the black men.

Now this tradition is so remarkably similar to the following, quoted by Bryant, that one is almost necessitated to refer them to a common origin:—

“Two temples are taken notice of by Hamelton, near Syrian in Pegu, which he represents as so like in structure, that they

generality of mankind were fallen into idolatry.” In all likelihood the Cushite emigration, which gave birth to the Papuan race, and eventually peopled the multitude of the isles, took place during this interval, previous to the death of Noah, who lived four hundred and fifty years after the flood.

seem to be built by the same model. One stood about six miles to the southwards, and was called Kiackiack, or the God of God's Temple. The image of the deity was *in a sleeping posture, and sixty feet in length, and was imagined to have lain in that state of repose six thousand years. When he awakes, it is said, the world will be annihilated.* As soon as Kiackiack has dissolved the frame and being of the world, Dagon, or Dagon, (the deity of the other temple) will gather up the fragments, and make a new one.*

Bryant considers this Eastern tradition to be a remnant of the tradition of the deluge—Dagon being Noah. It is remarkably similar, at all events, to the tradition of the Aborigines of Australia, which is prevalent also among those of the Wellington District; *Buddai* being there called *Piame*. Mr. Bryant adds:—

“In the account of Sha Rokh's embassy to Cathai, mention is made of a city, Kam-ju; and of a temple whose dimensions were very large. The author says that each side was 500 kes or cubits. In the middle lay an idol, *as if it were asleep, which was fifty feet in length.* Its hands and feet were three yards long, and the head twenty-one feet in circumference. This great image was gilt all over, and *held one hand under its head, and the other was stretched along down its thigh.*”†

When an eclipse of the moon takes place, the natives think it portends calamity to some distant relative, and make a doleful lamentation. When they rob a wild bees' hive, they generally leave a little of the honey for Buddai. They have no sacred animals; but the coast-natives have a great respect for porpoises, and will not suffer them to be killed, as they are very serviceable to them in driving the fish into shallows, where they take them in their scoop-nets. They have ideas of right and wrong, and know very well that it is wrong to steal, and right for the thief to be punished. And when a white man has been murdered in any vicinity, all the black-fellows in the neighbourhood move off to a different part of the country till they think the murder forgotten.

I am well aware of the imperfections of the preceding attempt to throw some light on so dark and diffi-

* New System, &c., by Jacob Bryant, Esq., vol. v. p. 233.

† Bryant, *ubi supra*, p. 246.

cult a subject as the origin and migrations of the Papuan race. Our means of information are as yet too limited to enable us to arrive at satisfactory conclusions on several of the most important of the points discussed in this essay: it is to be hoped, however, that some further light may shortly be thrown upon these points, chiefly in regard to the general condition, and the manners, customs, languages, and traditions of the Aborigines of the northern coasts of New Holland, and of the inhabitants of New Guinea, through the proposed establishment of another Penal Colony towards Cape York. The northern coast, towards its eastern extremity, was, in all probability, the first part of that vast Continental Island that was occupied by the Aborigines of Australia, and New Guinea was, in all likelihood, their mother-country. But the latter of these islands, although twelve hundred miles long, and of proportionate breadth, and inhabited by a comparatively dense population, by no means in a state of absolute barbarism—if we can place any reliance on the occasional reports of the South Sea Whalers—is still a *terra incognita* to Europeans. It is earnestly to be desired that this reproach to civilization may speedily be wiped away; for if there is any part of that vast portion of the earth's surface which the Papuan race has at one time traversed and occupied exclusively, in which it is likely to have preserved any remains of its ancient civilization, or in which any rational and Christian effort for its intellectual and moral improvement is likely to be successful, it is unquestionably in that large and comparatively fertile isle.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GERMAN MISSION TO THE ABORIGINES AT MORETON BAY.

How shall we tame thee, man of blood ?

How shall thy wild Antarctic isle,
Won by philanthropy to God,
With British arts and science smile ?
How shall Australia's sons embrace
The habits of a happier race ?

" Let agriculture tame the soil,"
Such is the learned sage's creed ;
" Let craftsmen ply their useful toil
Along the Richmond and the Tweed ;
So shall Australia's sons embrace
The habits of a happier race."

Wisdom, thy name is folly here !
The savage laughs thy plans to scorn.
Each lake supplies him dainty cheer ;
He sates his hunger with the fern,
And contemplates with proud disdain
Thy furrow'd fields and yellow grain.

" Go, preach the Gospel," Christ commands ;
And when he spake the sov'reign word,
Australia's dark and savage lands
Lay all outstretch'd before their Lord ;
He saw them far across the sea,
Even from the hills of Galilee.

Yes ! " Preach the Gospel," Christ commands,
" To every soul, the world around ;
In barbarous, as in learned lands,
Still let the Gospel trumpet sound,
Till every dark and savage isle
In Eden's primal beauty smile."

THE only important question that remains for consideration, in regard to the Papuan race, particularly

in the great continental island of Australia, is how to elevate that ancient and truly singular portion of the family of man in the scale of humanity—how to arrest its dark and dismal progress to utter extinction?

We have already seen that the inhabitants of *Tierra del Fuego*, a branch of the fairer or Polynesian race of the Indian Archipelago and the South Sea Islands, or, at all events, of the Indo-American race, are at least as low in the scale of humanity as any of the Aborigines of Australia; and yet Forster, to whose intelligent observations we are indebted for the interesting and important information, is so little of a philosopher as to suppose it probable that that abject people may nevertheless elevate themselves in the scale of being by some effort of their own, independently of any external impulse.

“The poor inhabitants of *Tierra del Fuego*,” says that intelligent writer, “act only by instinct, by necessity and want, and in consequence of the accidental occurrences which chance, or the natural changes of the elements and seasons, throw in their way; but a more frequent intercourse with Europeans, or some other unforeseen accident, for instance the fortuitous invention of iron, or some other useful metal; a discovery of the utility of some vegetable or tree in their climates; a new desire for catching fish, birds, and quadrupeds, in a more easy and expeditious manner than they have hitherto been accustomed to, must doubtless sooner or later bring on a revolution in their condition; new manners, new customs, a change of diet, of dress, weapons and utensils, must gradually produce a total change of their way of thinking and acting, introduce an alteration in their temper, facilitate the better regulation and security of their societies, and deliver them from that stupid torpor or indolence with which they are now oppressed; for when once the mind is enlightened with new ideas, and new combinations, and a field opened to fancy and imagination in the recital of their actions in their songs, dances, and various other representations, the passions, the great source of

action in human life, will kindle in their breasts that Promethean fire, which will infuse strength and vigour into all the transactions of the community.”*

Now, it is quite sufficient to reply to this fancy, that there is no instance in the history of mankind of any nation having ever raised itself, by its own individual efforts, from anything like so low a condition in the scale of humanity as that of the wretched inhabitants of *Tierra del Fuego*; and intercourse with Europeans, even for half a century and upwards, we have seen from the case of the Aborigines of Australia, is of little avail in changing the deep-rooted customs and habits of many generations. Indeed, the only hope that can reasonably be entertained either of the gradual elevation of such abject portions of the human family in the scale of humanity, or even of their continued existence in contact with European civilization, depends on their being brought under the powerful influence of Christianity through the efforts of Christian Missionaries.

My attention was strongly directed to the subject of establishing a mission to the Aborigines of Australia so early as the year 1831, and during that year and in the year 1834, I made three successive attempts to establish such a mission by means of Scotch Missionaries, but without success.

I was again in Europe in the year 1837, and as Lord Glenelg, a highly philanthropic and christian man, was then at the head of the Colonial Department, I memorialized the Government on the subject of the establishment of a mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, which I had previously ascertained that a body of missionaries could be obtained to form from Berlin in Prussia. The time was peculiarly favourable for such an effort, and the result was the establishment of the German Mission at Moreton Bay in the year 1838.

The missionaries consisted of two regularly educated

* Forster's Observations, &c., p. 334.

and ordained ministers, both married, with ten lay missionaries, most of whom were also married, and all of whom had been for some time in training for the work of missionaries to the heathen under that eminent and devoted minister, the Rev. Johannes Gossner, pastor of the Bohemian Church in Berlin, who, originally a Romish priest in Austria, and a disciple of the famous Martin Boos, had renounced the errors of Popery, and had afterwards for some time exercised his ministry as a Protestant pastor in the city of Petersburg in Russia, with such zeal and success as to excite the jealousy and fears of the Russian clergy, at whose instance he was at length driven into exile from that empire.

The whole amount contributed by the Government, and available for the conveyance of this large body of missionaries from Berlin to Scotland, and from thence to New South Wales, together with their expenses for some time in Greenock, was only £450; but as my brother* had obtained authority from the Colonial Government to introduce into the Colony, under the Bounty System, (which at that time appropriated £30 for the introduction of each married pair,) a certain number of vine-dressers and other labourers from the continent of Europe—an arrangement of which he allowed me to take advantage for the establishment of the mission to the Aborigines—£150 additional was obtained in the Colony through this arrangement. And although there was still a considerable deficiency, the prospect, shortly after the arrival of the missionaries in New South Wales, was so favourable, and the interest taken in the mission by the colonial public generally so strong, that if I had only been enabled to remain in the Colony, not only would this deficiency have been speedily covered, but the mission itself would have been placed and maintained, with comparatively little diffi-

* Andrew Lang, Esq., J.P., of Dunmore, Hunter's River, New South Wales.

culty, on an efficient footing as to funds. For as the Colonial Government had agreed to contribute from the Land Fund, for the general support of the mission, a sum equal to the whole amount contributed by the public, it had been ascertained in the course of the year 1838, that a moderate effort in the colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, which I was then prepared to make in person, would have been sufficient to secure an amount of income equal to the whole expenditure to be incurred; especially as there were so many lay-brethren, of various useful handicrafts, connected with the mission, who, it was intended, should give it the character of a Moravian Settlement.

Unfortunately, however, I was obliged, in the month of January, 1839, in consequence of certain unexpected difficulties arising out of the connexion of the Colonial Presbyterian Church with the State, and the petty tyranny exercised by the Colonial Government, to embark for Europe once more; and having visited the United States in the interval, I did not return to the Colony till the month of March, 1841. During my absence, I am sorry to say, the German Mission was sadly neglected by those whose bounden duty it was to have exerted themselves, far otherwise than they did, for its maintenance and support. The missionaries were consequently subjected to great privations, and their missionary labours were in some measure suspended, from the manual labour in which they were compelled to engage for the supply of the necessaries of life. Immediately, however, after my return from Europe, a new and successful effort was made on behalf of the German Mission, and the serious privations to which it had previously been subjected were forthwith brought to an end.

I have already stated, in a previous chapter of this work, that His Excellency Sir George Gipps, visited the Settlement of Moreton Bay in the year 1842. In the course of that visit he also visited the German Mission Station; which, he afterwards alleged, was too near Brisbane Town for the purposes of the mission, and oc-

cupied ground which might turn something considerable into Government, if sold for suburban allotments: and it was agreeably to his Excellency's own suggestion that the Rev. Mr. Schmidt's journey, to which I have already referred, was undertaken to the Bunya-Bunya country, with a view to the formation of a new Mission Station in that locality, on the understanding that, if found suitable for the purpose, the Government should be at the whole expense of the removal of the missionaries, and continue to support the mission from the same fund, to the same extent and on the same principle as before. The locality was found by no means unfavourable, and the missionaries were willing to remove to the new Station, on this understanding: but the next announcement from the Government, communicated without previous warning of any kind, was, that no further support would be granted for missions to the Aborigines from the Land Revenue of the colony. In short, the impolitic procedure of the Local Government in regard to the sale of land, and the measures adopted by that Government in the matter of immigration, had in fact nearly annihilated this revenue, and spread disaster and ruin all over the colony; and the withdrawal of the support previously afforded for the German Mission, was therefore merely a measure of retrenchment, suggested by the necessities of the times, and much easier, of course, than the curtailment of exorbitant salaries, or the abolition of useless appointments.

The opening up of the Settlement of Moreton Bay to free immigration, in the years 1841 and 1842, had a most unfortunate effect on the relations previously subsisting between the missionaries and the Aborigines, and materially interfered with the prospects of the Mission, which were then rather favourable. For the Squatting System, by virtually dividing the country into a series of extensive domains, and establishing a lord of the manor in each, introduced a class of persons who, if they did not look upon the natives with an evil eye, certainly regarded them as standing very much in their way. On one occasion the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, when

traversing the bush on foot with a few natives, was met by two gentlemen Squatters, mounted and armed, one of whom requested Mr. S., as he spoke their language, to inform the natives that they were *not to trespass on his run*. Now, such an intimation will doubtless appear quite natural and proper to an Englishman, and quite consistent with *the rights of property*, whether held in fee-simple or on lease from the Crown. But what, I would ask, is the import of such an intimation in the peculiar circumstances supposed? And with what face, I would ask also, could a missionary make such an intimation to “the barbarous people” of his charge, who probably had “shewn him much kindness” in their own way? Translated into English it would imply some such address to the black natives on the part of the missionary as the following :

“Dearly beloved brethren, I have hitherto been telling you that the great God who made the sun, the moon, and the stars, the land, and the salt water, ‘hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell upon all the face of the earth;’ that his white and his black children are all alike in his sight, and that he hath sent his Son from heaven to die for you, to bless and to save you. But I have now to tell you that the great white Jin* beyond the salt water requires your country for the cattle and sheep of her tribe, and has given the whole of it from the river back to the mountains to her brother† Mr. —, here, and you are not to ‘sit down’ or ‘walk all about’ over it, to hunt the kangaroo and opossum, or to gather *bangwall*, any more. No doubt it is your own country, the place where you were born, and you have no place else to ‘sit down and walk all about,’ to hunt and to gather *bangwall*; but remember the great white Jin is very strong, and there are many soldiers in her tribe.”

* Jin is the native word for woman.

† Brother is a word of very extensive meaning with the natives, like the word *cousin* with us, in certain legal documents.

Such are the "glad tidings" which the missionary was actually requested, in the instance under consideration, to proclaim to the heathen people of his charge—such is the Squatters' gospel to the Aborigines of Australia! I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction that in many, very many instances, it has been literally tantamount to a sentence of confiscation, banishment, and death to the unfortunate Aborigines.

Am I therefore to be understood as being opposed to the Squatting System, or anxious for its discontinuance? By no means. The prevalence of that system is the natural and necessary course of events in Australia, and it is not in the power of Great Britain, even if she could be so insane as to cherish the wish, to enforce its discontinuance. All we can do is to ameliorate that system in its bearings upon the Aborigines. that the white and black races may coexist in harmony and peace till the purposes of Divine Providence are accomplished in regard to the latter, or, in other words, during the very short period they will in all likelihood continue to exist at all. And I repeat it, there is nothing which in my opinion would tend so directly to ameliorate the Squatting System, in all its bearings on the unfortunate Aborigines, as the speedy influx of a numerous agricultural population from the mother country, to occupy the vast extent of superior available land to the northward, in the way I have described. Such a population would infallibly originate a healthy state of public opinion on this most important subject, which certainly does not exist in the colony at present, and before which the unprincipled wretch who would utterly disgrace his country, and humanity itself, by introducing amongst us the infernal Italian practice of poisoning, either in regard to blacks or whites, would quail and disappear.*

* If this practice is not effectually put down in the colony by public opinion, (enlightened, of course, and stimulated by a high-toned Christianity,) as far as the blacks are concerned, there is

The discontinuance of the pecuniary support granted for a time to the German Mission to the Aborigines from the Land Revenue of the Colony, and the difficulty of obtaining anything like adequate support from the colonists during the period of general disaster that ensued, produced a great change in the circumstances of the Mission, independently of the change in its prospects arising from the opening up of the Settlement to the Squatters, and rendered its future condition exceedingly precarious. In these circumstances, the Rev. Mr. Eipper, one of the clerical missionaries, abandoned the undertaking, and accepted a clerical appointment in the colony. The Rev. Mr. Schmidt, however, remained at the Mission Station till the commencement of the year 1845, when he came to Sydney, where he resided in my family till he returned to Europe in the month of May, 1846.

In the meantime, the lay-missionaries resolved to remain at the Station, having been reinforced by three additional missionaries of the same class from Berlin, in the year 1844, and having received a promise of pecuniary assistance from a missionary society which had been formed in that city, to a small extent annually. They have now a herd of cattle and a few horses, the produce of which, together with the labour of their hands in the cultivation of a small extent of land, supplies them with the necessaries of life ; and they regularly continue to improve such opportunities as offer of communicating religious instruction to the Aborigines,

reason to fear that it will not stop with them, but he extended in due time to the whites also. There is no form of criminality more extensively prevalent, more epidemical, so to speak, than this, wherever it has gained a footing, and there is none more difficult to root out of any country. "The brightest period of the Roman history," observes Mr. Hume, "is that between the beginning of the first and end of the second Punic war. Yet, at this very time, the horrid practice of poisoning, (*so prevalent at present in the same country,*) was so common, that, during part of a season, a praetor punished capitally, for this crime alone, about 3000 persons in a part of Italy, and found informations of this kind still multiplying upon him."

and of exercising a moral and religious influence among the white population of the humbler classes in and around Brisbane Town.

Dr. Leichhardt spent some time at the German Mission Station, as a guest of the Rev. Mr. Schmidt's, during his stay at Moreton Bay, in the year 1843, and it will doubtless not be uninteresting to the reader to peruse the following opinion of that distinguished traveller, contained in one of his interesting letters to Mr. Lynd, respecting the Mission generally. Dr. L., I may add, was rather sceptical as to any beneficial results being likely to follow from the direct influence of the Missionaries upon the Aborigines, in the way of their conversion to Christianity; but he was fully alive to the beneficial influence which such a community was likely to exert on the surrounding white population in such a Colony:—

The philanthropist could never find a purer and better nucleus for the commencement of a colony than these seven families of the Missionaries are: they themselves excellent, tolerably well educated men, industrious, with industrious wives. They have twenty-two children, though very young, yet educated with the greatest care—the most obedient, the least troublesome children I have seen in this Colony or elsewhere. If the Governor was in any way a man of more comprehensive views, and if he considered the moral influence of such a little colony on the surrounding Settlers, he would not grudge them the few acres of land which they are at present in possession of—he would grant it to them for the five years of suffering they had to pass. The Missionaries have converted no black-fellows to Christianity; but they have commenced a friendly intercourse with these savage children of the bush, and have shewn to them the white-fellow in his best colour. They did not take their wives; they did not take bloody revenge when the black-fellow came to rob their garden. They were always kind, and perhaps too kind; for they threatened without executing their threatenings, and the black-fellows knew well that it was only *gammon*.

I visited the German Mission Station twice during my stay at Moreton Bay, on one of which occasions I spent a night at the Station, and heard the children read a portion of Scripture. They form one of the most singular, as well as interesting little groups in Her Majesty's dominions. The parents, who are all Ger-

mans, knew no other than their mother-tongue when they arrived in the Colony; but they deemed it incumbent upon them, for the purposes of their Mission, to learn and to speak English only, and they have accordingly taught their children that foreign tongue exclusively. Of course they could not teach them the English accent; and the little Anglo-German colonists, entirely secluded as they are from the world, speak English with as strong a foreign accent as a German who learns our language after he has come to manhood. I had recommended the parents, several years before, to teach their children both languages, telling them they would learn both as easily as one: but they were afraid that if they taught them to speak German, they would not learn English, and with amazing self-denial, they have continued to converse with one another in their families in English, and thereby to teach their children a foreign tongue.

I can also testify with much pleasure to the beneficial influence which the Lay-Missionaries are exercising on the scattered white population of the humbler classes in and around Brisbane Town. They have already proved a blessing to several in that vicinity, in the highest sense of the word—bringing both individuals and families back to a sense of the duties of religion, and inducing a corresponding practice. They itinerate by turns in different parts of the district every Sabbath—reading the Scriptures, distributing Scriptural tracts, and expounding the word of God to all who will suffer the word of exhortation. As a specimen of the influence they are exerting in this way, I shall relate the following circumstance which was incidentally mentioned to me, from his own experience, by Mr. Gottfried Wagner, the only unmarried Missionary now at the Station, who accompanied me on horseback from the Mission Station on my return to Brisbane. On a Sabbath afternoon, in the course of his accustomed tour of itineracy, a woman in the humbler walks of life earnestly requested Mr. Wagner to go to a particular public-house in the neighbourhood, and speak

to her husband, who was not only profaning the Sabbath, but spending his time and his means away from his family, and reducing himself to a state of brutal intoxication. Mr. W. accordingly went, but was told by the publican that the man he asked for was not in his house. Mr. W. returned to the woman, and reported the issue of his visit, but she entreated him to go back again, as she was certain her husband was in the house, although the publican, for obvious reasons, had denied him. Mr. W. accordingly went back to the public-house, and requested to be admitted to see the man, as he said he was assured by his wife he was in the house. The publican, as might be anticipated, was offended at this importunity, and asked Mr. W. how he pretended to search his house, asking him insultingly, if he was a constable, or had a *warrant* to do so? "Yes," Mr. W. fearlessly replied, "I have a warrant." "Where is it?" said the publican sneeringly. "Here," replied Mr. W., pulling out his English Pocket Bible, "for it is written in the Word of God, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*" The publican stood abashed at this instance of Christian zeal and intrepidity on the part of the humble foreigner, —for there is a majesty and a power in the bold assertion of Christian principle, before which iniquity will often hide her head and be ashamed; and he allowed Mr. W. to enter his house, where he found the man he was in quest of. For these, and various other reasons, I confess I feel a deep interest in the German Mission to the Aborigines; and as it was entirely with my concurrence and approval that my friend and brother, Mr. Schmidt, returned to Europe, I cherish the hope that it will ere long be revived under happier auspices, and be prosecuted with increased vigour, and crowned with ultimate success.

CHAPTER XII.

PROSPECTS OF COOKSLAND, IN REGARD TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, MORALS, AND RELIGION.

Caetera turba suos fines plerumque sequuntur.

RUDDIMAN'S Latin Grammar.

Certain of the Colonial Clergy are exceedingly selfish and sordid.

THE population of Cooksland, which, by the census of 1846, amounts to 3750 souls,* is composed of persons who style themselves respectively English Episcopalians, Scotch and North of Ireland Presbyterians, and Irish Roman Catholics; the number of persons of any other denomination being as yet very small. A large proportion, if not a decided majority of the gentlemen Squatters, and other respectable inhabitants of the District, are Scotsmen and Presbyterians; the remainder of this class being almost exclusively of the Church of England. There is also a considerable number of Scotsmen and Presbyterians among the humbler or working-classes—the free immigrant mechanics, farm-servants, and shepherds; but the bulk

* County of Stanley, including Brisbane,	.	1599
Commissioner's District,	. . . . .	268
Darling Downs,	. . . . .	658
Clarence River District,	. . . . .	1225
		Total, 3750

of this class of the population, embracing, as it does, a considerable proportion of *old hands*, or expiree convicts, are, nominally at least, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.

For the religious instruction of this population, there are at present two Episcopalian ministers stationed in the district—the one at Brisbane, and the other on the Clarence River—and at least one Romish priest also stationed at Brisbane. There is no other minister of religion of any communion in this part of the territory.

The Episcopalian minister at Brisbane is the Rev. John Gregor, A.M., a regularly educated and ordained minister of the Established Church of Scotland, who was sent out to New South Wales as a Presbyterian minister, on the recommendation of the General Assembly's Colonial Committee, in the year 1837. In consequence, however, of certain difficulties in his position, the result of his own heartless cupidity, Mr. Gregor gave out that a new light had broken in upon his mental vision, and declared publicly, “in the Church of St. James, the Apostle, in Sydney,” that he was moved by the Holy Ghost to renounce the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian Communion, and to take an oath of implicit obedience to a Puseyite Bishop.

Mr. Gregor is, without exception, the most worldly-minded person I have ever known in a clerical habit, and he is so ignorant withal of the world, as even to be utterly destitute of that thin veil of hypocrisy which, in such cases, is indispensably necessary to shield the hireling from general disgust. Through the frequent exhibition of this quality, combined with others equally unclerical, Mr. Gregor had contrived, within a very short period from the time of his arrival at Moreton Bay, (to which locality he was ordered to proceed by his Bishop,) to alienate the affections of the entire Episcopalian community in the district from his person and ministry, and to forfeit all title to their confidence and respect. Public meetings had been held

both before the period of my visit and since, to represent his utter unfitness for the office he held, and to petition the Bishop for his removal. But obsequiousness and servility are the never-failing attributes of the Episcopalianized Scotch Presbyterian, whether in Church or in State, and by "the diligent use of these outward and ordinary means" of success in such quarters, Mr. Gregor has managed to retain his position in spite of the petitions and remonstrances of an outraged and indignant people. He is a thorough *Intrusionist*.

I have been induced to mention these particulars, partly to exhibit the religious prospects of the district, and partly because there was a wonderful flourish of trumpets, both in the colony and at home, on the accession of this individual to the Colonial Episcopal Church. For my own part, I make that Church heartily welcome to all such Presbyterian ministers, even although they should prove as numerous as the "leaves in Vallombrosa," for the only real service they can ever render to the Presbyterian communion is to leave it for ever. Lest I should be supposed, however, to be actuated by unworthy feelings towards this unhappy individual, I shall insert the following extract of a letter, in which reference is made to him, of date "Brisbane, 28th March 1846," and which I had the honour of receiving from a gentleman at Moreton Bay—an Englishman, an Episcopalian, and an officer of Government, holding a highly respectable appointment in the district, who, I beg to add, has not yet been mentioned in any way in this work:—

"We are labouring to be rid of our Incumbent—I had almost written Incubus, which, at all events, can appear in the errata. I do not go into particulars, as I do not doubt that the obduracy of his master and the obstinacy of himself will be the cause of all the business appearing in the *Atlas* (a Sydney weekly journal) if they will publish it. We find but one opinion of him here, but meet with much difficulty in getting people to co-operate. One has a yoke of oxen to prove—another has married a wife—a third has bought a farm—a fourth is a Government officer, and so cannot! Nevertheless, there be some of us who are determined to be rid of him, *coute qu'il coute*. My impression of a minister, who having really at heart the glory of God and the

diffusion of the Gospel, is that he would not remain in a parish wherein he was made apparent as a hindrance of that Gospel, which he ought to practise as well as preach. But you *know* the man, perhaps, better than I do ; at all events, *I know* that he is not the good shepherd, but that he careth not for the sheep, because he is a hireling."

In such circumstances, it will readily be believed that there is comparatively little even of the outward semblance of Protestant christianity at all visible in the Moreton Bay District beyond the influence of that purer moral atmosphere which the German Mission to the Aborigines has certainly succeeded in creating within its limited sphere. Accordingly, I was told that when Mr. Gregor occasionally visits the surrounding Squatting Stations, "to do duty," as it is termed, and the hired servants on the station at which he is to officiate are invited to attend, they frequently excuse themselves by alleging that "they are all Roman Catholics," but when Mr. Hanley, the Romish priest at Brisbane, visits the same stations, the very same men excuse their non-attendance at his rural mass by alleging that "they are all Protestants."

The Episcopalian incumbent at the Clarence River is a Mr. M'Connell, a very young man, and evidently knowing as little of mankind, to say nothing of christianity, as Mr. Gregor. On its being announced that the Bishop would send a clergyman to the Clarence District, on the understanding that the people should contribute for his support, (as the Colonial Government allowance does not extend to these out-stations), and that, up to a certain amount, he would receive a salary from the Bishop equal to what should be contributed by the District, Mr. Commissioner Fry, whose able and interesting Report of the capabilities of the Clarence District I have had the pleasure of submitting to the reader, exerted himself in traversing the District in person to procure subscriptions for the clergyman ; and although a large proportion of the respectable inhabitants were Scotsmen and Presbyterians, they had willingly responded to the Commissioner's appeal, from their earnest desire to see a Protestant minister of any

communion settled in the District. The clergyman at length arrived, and when Mr. Fry handed him the list of subscriptions he had procured, guaranteeing him a salary of £150 a-year *from the people*, the raw, unfledged youth—whose qualifications for the ministerial office, I was told by a pious Scotch Presbyterian lady from the district, who was well qualified to offer an opinion on the subject, were of the meanest description she had ever witnessed in any person pretending to be a teacher of others—had the modest assurance to ask indignantly, if “that was all they were going to subscribe for their clergyman?” Mr. Fry was exceedingly mortified at this result of his zealous and praiseworthy exertions, and requested the clergyman to return him the list, with the intention, as I was told, of destroying it, and leaving him to obtain a larger subscription where he could; but I had heard enough to be at all solicitous as to how the matter ended.

Such, then, is the character and amount of the existing provision for the maintenance and extension of Protestant christianity in a territory which, at no distant period, will unquestionably form one of the most splendid provinces of the British empire. In that territory, and indeed throughout the vast extent of the Colony of New South Wales—which the reader must bear in mind has a coast-line much more extensive than that of the whole thirteen colonies that formed the original United States of America—the cause of civil and religious liberty, as well as of education, morals, and religion, is at present exposed to two influences of a most pernicious character, which cannot be contemplated by any lover of his country without apprehension and alarm. The first of these is the general prevalence of Puseyism in the Colonial Episcopal Church, fostered, as it is, by the existing system of supporting religion from the Public Treasury, and combined with the exercise of a species of clerical despotism, equally grinding and degrading to all who choose to submit to it. The second is the prevalence and extension of Popery in the Colony, through extensive immigration,

conducted at the public expense, from the South and West of Ireland.*

In these circumstances, I have no hesitation in acknowledging that my principal object in drawing up this volume, as well as in undertaking my present voyage to Europe, is to appeal to my fellow-countrymen, the people of Scotland, and their ancient and noble colony, the North of Ireland, on behalf of the cause of civil and religious liberty—on behalf of our common Protestantism—in the Australian Colonies and the Southern Hemisphere; that the splendid territories of Cooksland and Port Phillip may, by means of some enlightened, vigorous, patriotic, and christian effort in the way of extensive and thoroughly Protestant colonization in these territories, be delivered from the sad and gloomy fate with which they are now threatened—that of being speedily transformed into the seats of mere Irish Roman Catholic communities, under the absolute domination of an ambitious, usurping, and intolerant priesthood, or into great Puseyite preserves, in which all the essentials of Popery will be taught, and not a few of its mummeries practised, under the sacred name of Protestantism.

The most important duty, beyond all comparison, to which any country or people can be called, in the providence of God, is, unquestionably, that of founding a

* As an instance of the extent to which the best interests of the Colony and of our common Protestantism were sacrificed during the administration of Sir George Gipps, I need only state that while the immigration, *paid for from the public revenue*, from the 1st of January 1841 to the 30th of June 1842, amounted to 25,330 souls, not fewer than 16,892, or more than two-thirds, of this whole number were from Ireland, chiefly Roman Catholics from the southern and western counties of that island, while only 8438 were from England and Scotland together. And what greatly aggravated this enormous instance of misgovernment, and evinced an entire disregard of the feelings, as well as of the interests of the colonists, on the part of their rulers, was that at least nine-tenths of the fund from which the whole cost of this extensive immigration was defrayed had been contributed by Protestants.

new Colony, or, in other words, a new State or Empire. How utterly insignificant, for example, do not all the European wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the seventeenth century, and in which the national blood and the national treasure were so profusely expended, now appear, in comparison with an event which was scarcely noticed by the annalist of the times, the expedition of the "Pilgrim Fathers" to New England? And how utterly insignificant, when tested by their future results on the destinies of mankind, were not all the wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the eighteenth century, when compared with the expedition of Captain Phillip, in the year 1787, to plant a British Colony on the shores of New Holland!

Now it appears to me that the Scottish people and nation, as constituting an integral part of the great colonizing power of modern times, have by no means discharged their proper duty to society, in this most important respect, for the last century and a-half. At the commencement of that period, Scotland did indeed make a noble, although an unsuccessful effort in the way of colonization, in forming, or rather in attempting to form the Scottish Colony of New Caledonia, at the Isthmus of Darien. And the peculiar fitness—the peculiar vocation of Scotland for such an enterprise, and the loss which the civilized world must have sustained from her utter unmindfulness of this peculiar duty, during the long period that has elapsed since the failure of that noble enterprise, may be estimated from the fact mentioned by Dr. M'Crie, in his valuable notes and appendix to the *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, "that the Scottish Colony, at the Isthmus of Darien, was the first Colony in the New World that was ever founded by any European State, on the principle of entire freedom of trade, and entire freedom of religion." Shortly after the failure of that great national undertaking, Scotland doubtless lost her nationality by the Union of the two kingdoms, but that loss was perhaps more than compensated by her admission to a participation, on terms of entire equality, in all the rights of England,

in all the numerous Colonies of that superior maritime power. For the emigration from Scotland to all these Colonies has since been beyond all comparison greater, in proportion to their respective population, than that from either of the other two kingdoms. But what I ask, has ever been done by the leading men of Scotland, in the way of superintendence, direction and protection, to smooth the way of these numerous emigrants in the lands of their respective emigration, to secure to them the enjoyment of their chartered rights as Britons, so often invaded by the "Thirty Tyrants" of the Colonies, or to assist them in obtaining for themselves and their posterity similar institutions, whether civil or religious, to those under which their fatherland has grown so great? For my own part I have never so much as heard of any thing of the kind having ever been thought of in Scotland for the last hundred and forty years. M. de Tocqueville informs us, in his admirable work on American Democracy, that instances are frequent of persons of independent fortune in New England, the great Colony of the Puritans, emigrating to the Infant States of the Far West, which are quite the same to them as our Colonies are to us, from no other motive whatever than the truly praiseworthy, patriotic and christian desire to secure to society, in these infant empires, the same institutions under which the parent State had grown and flourished. But of the thousands and tens of thousands of Scotsmen who have emigrated to all the British Colonies since the Union of the two kingdoms in 1706, I confess I have never heard of a single instance of this peculiar species of emigration. If there is money to be made in a British Colony, however remote, however unhealthy, Scotsmen are sure to find their way to it in sufficient numbers; but as to anything like an enlightened and vigorous effort, at all worthy of the intellect and the enterprise of Scotland, for the welfare of her children in the Colonies,—as to any Scotsman of independent fortune emigrating to these infant empires, to secure to them the institutions of his glorious fatherland—the

thing is unheard of, and has never occurred. In short, it cannot be denied that the Scottish nation, as an integral part of the great community of the United Kingdom, has come infinitely short of its proper duty in the important matter of emigration and colonization for the last century and a-half; for in all her relations to that highest political vocation of any people, Scotland has unquestionably worshipped the god Mammon with an exclusiveness of idolatry that has left no room whatever for any nobler object.

In consideration, therefore, of the little they have hitherto done for the Colonies, as well as in consideration of the various other important objects recommended in this volume, I trust my fellow-countrymen will be prepared to receive this appeal for their assistance and co-operation, in the way of a great effort for the promotion of extensive colonization, with the same earnest desire to promote the real honour and glory of our nation, and the best interests of our people both at home and abroad, in which it originates. After the lapse of a century and a-half since the failure of the unfortunate Scottish Colony at the Isthmus of Darien, it is surely not too soon for enlightened and patriotic Scotsmen to make another effort of a similar kind, but under better auspices, in Australia. The climate of the Isthmus of Darien is one of the most fatal to human life on the face of the globe; that of Cooksland is one of the most salubrious: for with a range of productions more extensive, perhaps, than is to be met with in any other locality known, it is not too enervating, like that of the intertropical regions of America, for European labour. The Scotch colonists at the Isthmus of Darien had a powerful and hostile nation to oppose their landing, and to root out their settlement by force of arms; but the territory of Cooksland is the undisputed property of Britain, in which no hostile banners can be uplifted, and no enemy can be feared. And if the extension of the Christian religion, by means of a Scotch Colony among the Indians of America, was deemed worthy of the enterprise of Scotland at the

close of the seventeenth century, surely the interesting but unfortunate Papuan race of Australia must have some claims, in the middle of the nineteenth century, on the sympathies of the patriotic and christian merchants and manufacturers of that great city, whose ancient motto was "Let Glasgow flourish through the preaching of the Word."

Besides, so shortly after the long period of exhaustion produced by the tyranny of the Stuarts, Scotland could have had but comparatively few of her people to spare, to transform into a useful body of Colonists in Central America; but she has now a numerous and industrious but redundant population, whose removal to a land where they would speedily become producers of the raw material for her manufactures and consumers of her manufactured produce, would be equally a benefit and blessing of incalculable value to themselves, and to the land of their birth. Further, Scotland could have had no national experience in the work of colonization at the period I refer to, and the failure of her solitary effort of this kind was as much owing to the grossest mismanagement and breach of trust on the part of the principal agents employed in the undertaking, as to the other causes I have enumerated; but it would be scarcely possible to fail from a similar cause in the effort I have recommended—the facilities are so great on the one hand, and the mode of procedure so obvious on the other. At all events, while the unfortunate Colony at the Isthmus of Darien involved a prodigious expenditure of capital, for the period at which it was undertaken, and proved disastrous and ruinous to all concerned, the effort I would now recommend requires only the temporary use of moderate funds, for which the amplest security could be given, and for which I am quite confident a sufficient interest could easily be paid.

And surely the probable bearings of a Colony in Cooksland on the great question of Negro Slavery are well worthy of the most vigorous outgoings of Scottish enterprise, and Scottish philanthropy. Only prove that

the redundant population of Europe can be transformed into the growers of cotton and other tropical produce in the territory of Cooksland, so as to afford them an adequate remuneration for their labour, and the "occupation" of the slavedealer and the slavedriver will be "gone" for ever.

To conclude, the rapid progress and the threatening aspect of Popery and Puseyism—the Beast and the Image of the Beast—in the Australian Colonies, render it indispensably necessary, for the interests of our common Protestantism in the Southern Hemisphere, that a great effort in the way of extensive colonization should be made in these Colonies—and that effort must be made NOW OR NEVER.

APPENDIX.

EXPLORING EXPEDITION UNDER SIR THOMAS MITCHELL.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE, SYDNEY,
7th September 1846.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct, that the following Despatches from Sir T. L. Mitchell, reporting the progress made by the expedition, under his command, in exploring the overland route to Port Essington, be published for general information.

By his Excellency's command,
E. DEAS THOMSON.

No. 1.

Camp at the head of the River Salvator, in long. 147°25'40" E.;
lat. 24°50'17" S.

9th September 1846.

SIR,—Before setting out on the last branch of my exploratory operations, I feel it to be my duty to report to your Excellency the progress made in that duty to this time, by the Expedition sent into the interior under my command.

The heat was excessive, and water so very scarce, in the channel of the river Bogan, that I was obliged to abandon that route; and it was only with great difficulty, and after considerable delay, that the party could be conducted to the river Darling. Throughout the month of January, Fahrenheit's Thermometer stood frequently at 117°; in the shade was seldom below 100°; and I found, on a ride down the Bogan, that there was no water in its channel for forty miles below Nyingen. The intense heat killed all our kangaroo dogs, and most of the party were attacked with ophthalmia; our draught oxen were also so much distressed (the loads having been also made heavier at Buree than I had intended), that some of them fell dead on the journey, and I was obliged to halt for two weeks at the ponds of Cannonbà, between the river Macquarie and the Bogan. During that interval some refreshing rain fell, after which I examined Duck Creek, but found no water in it; and Mr. Kennedy subsequently ascertained

(for I had myself ophthalmia) that we could only hope to reach the Darling by the marshes of the Macquarie.

On the 12th February we left the ponds of Cannonbà, and travelled along the left bank of the Macquarie, opening out a cart-road along the western limits of the marshes, through a country very favourable for cattle stations. We found the channel of the river continuous, in muddy ponds throughout the marshes; and I have to express my obligations to Mr. Kinghorne, for the information he afforded me, and for sending with us an aboriginal native, who guided us beyond the regions of weed.

We made the junction of the Macquarie with the Darling, in long. 147°33 E.; lat. 30°6'11 S.; but I found that a few miles higher, at the station of Mr. Parnell, jun., there was a good ford across the river Darling (or Barwan, the aboriginal name there in general use). I accordingly crossed the river at Mr. Parnell's station, and the superintendent sent with us two aboriginal natives, who guided us in a very straight direction, and over a fine open country to the Narran Swamp, which we reached at twenty-six miles from the Darling. These guides would have gone farther, had not the intense heat, the extreme weakness of our cattle, and the passage of the swamp, occasioned delay. I there, however, received a Despatch from Commissioner Mitchell, enclosing a map, and affording me much useful information respecting the rivers in the country before us. The Narran river terminates in the Swamp; and in tracing that river upwards, or northward, we found it full of water, and increasing in size and importance as we ascended, until we came upon the Balonne, in long. 148°25 E.; lat. 28°35'38 S. Along the banks of the Narran, the grass is of the very best description, *Panicum lævinode*, and *Anthisterium Australe* (barley-grass and kangaroo grass of the colonists), growing on plains or in open forests, very available, in every respect, for cattle stations. But the seeds of the *Panicum lævinode* constitute the chief food of the natives, who bruise these seeds between stones, and bake the dough into cakes. As I advanced these natives fell back on the main river, where the assembled body received our party very kindly.

The banks of the Balonne Minor seem to be thickly peopled. The head of the tribe met us seven miles from it, and afforded me much assistance in finding a way for our carts amongst the numerous lagoons. Others guided us across to the Culgoa, which river we also crossed in long. 148°21'25 E.; lat. 28°31'19 S. From that point I travelled to the Upper Balonne, with the intention of proceeding northward along its right bank. That great river is there at its maximum, and is only inferior to the Murray in breadth and depth. Lower down it separates into various channels,—the first branch being the Culgoa, falling into the Darling about thirty miles above Fort Bourke,—the remainder, or Minor Balonne, again spreads its waters into the Narran, the Bokhara, the Balandoola, and the Birree; the latter three, I

believe, again unite, and fall into the Darling forty or fifty miles above Fort Bourke. The Narran seems a wonderful provision of nature, for the supply and retention of water in a dry and parched country. The division of the main river into others already mentioned is no less so, irrigating thus, from one principal channel, extensive regions of rich earth beyond the Darling, while the surplus, or overflow, instead of passing, as in common cases, to the sea, is received in the deep channel of the Narran, and thereby conducted to that extensive reservoir, where, on rock or stiff clay, and under ever verdant polygonum, it furnishes an inexhaustible supply for the support of animal life. Nor is this beautiful net-work of rivers confined to that side of the Darling. The marsh of the Macquarie receives only ordinary floods, to be retained in a somewhat similar manner to those in Narran Swamp. The great floods of that river overflow the firm plains to the westward above Mount Harris, fill the ponds of Cannonbà and those of Bauargill, which then uniting, carry a current into the Bogan, which river sends a branch, called the Barrawarry, northward into the country between it and the Darling, flowing parallel to the latter river, at a distance of about seven miles. Below Mount Harris, the Macquarie again overflows into Duck Creek (the "Marra" of the natives), which may be considered the channel, or a channel, of that river in high floods. Cannonbà and Duck Creek on one side, seem, therefore, analogous, on a smaller scale, to the various branches of the Balonne on the other.

Tracing the Balonne upwards, I found the country on its banks well covered with good grass; and we encountered only a small proportion of scrub. Some of the reaches were so broad, deep, and extensive, that I could not suppose this river contained only the waters of the Condamine, and I therefore expected to meet with some tributary from the north-west. On arriving at a natural bridge of rock, in long. 148°46'45" E., lat. 28°2' S., I selected a position commanding access to the other bank, with the intention of forming there a dépôt for the rest and refreshment of the bullocks, then unable to go further; while I, with a smaller party, examined the country to the north-west. I first made a reconnaissance north-west by compass, and found in that direction, at the end of thirty miles, a poor, sandy unpromising country. Returning to the dépôt camp, I proceeded, on the 23d of April, up the river, with a party of ten men and the light carts, leaving the remainder in charge of Mr. Kennedy, at St. George's Bridge, with instructions to follow me in one month. I did not ascertain satisfactorily the point of junction of the Condamine with the Balonne, as what I saw in long. 148°52' N., lat. 27°47'57" S., might have been only an ana-branch;—neither did I see that of the "Cogoon," a small tributary from the north-west, which we followed up through a beautiful country, until it led me amongst hills where I could by trigonometrical observations, and back

angles, survey more extensively, and be sure of the longitude. From a tree on the Balonne, in long. 149° E., lat. 27° 20' S., open downs were discovered to the eastward, extending to the horizon, and in all probability watered by the Condamine. From Mount Abundance, in long. 148° 40' E., lat. 26° 39' 30" S., I again perceived that the fine open country in which I then was, extended eastward as far as the eye or telescope could reach, and that it was watered by a river from the northward, distinctly marked by the smoke of natives' fires. That river was still the "Balonne," according to the natives; and from Mount "Bindango" I was able to intersect the summits of an isolated range in the centre of that splendid region, placing it in longitude about 149° 2' E., and in latitude 26° 23' 32" S. To mark the epoch of this discovery, I name it on my map the Fitz Roy Downs, and the range in the midst of it I distinguish as the Grafton Range; and should your Excellency's name not be Fitz Roy, I shall be content to be able to pay such a mark of respect to the late Governor of New Zealand.

The little river "Cogoon," which I had followed up, contained water in ponds almost to its sources, which arise between the three isolated mountains of Abundance, Bindyego, and Bindango—the latter being connected by a low neck of grassy downs, with small knolls of trap rock to one of the masses of coast range in which the Balonne appeared to have its source. Northward from Bindango, other waters fall to the north-west, and I perceived in the remote distance one gap in a tabular sort of rocky country, through which I hoped the watercourse would lead; but I was disappointed in following it down, for this promising little river, (the Amby of the natives,) turned to the southward of west, and I found in the gap only a convenient pass for our carts to the interior country; it was, however, a very remarkable opening, in which were several conical hills, on which grew many strange shrubs, and one of the hills consisted of basalt. I named this St. George's Pass—in hopes it may yet become a point on an important line of route.

The country through which this pass led, consisted in general of sandstone, where the tops of cliffs were distinguishable from the northward by the luxuriant grass upon them—a rather unusual feature in a sandstone country. Southward and back from the pass much good open forest land appeared around as the prevailing characteristic. There is, however, a tribe of natives bent on mischief in that neighbourhood.

In the country beyond, I found another channel running north-west, and in it one pond where I wished to encamp; but on my ride forward next day I discovered that my party was upon the only water the little river contained, and that even its channel disappeared in a rich and extensive grassy flat. Just then some smoke arose in the woods before us, which revived my hopes of finding water; and on renewing my search, I came upon a river fully as large as the Darling, flowing to the south-west;—subsequent ex-

tensive reconnoissances, made thirty miles to the westward and eastward, convinced me that the course of this river (the "Maranoa" of the natives) was not more favourable for the chief object of our journey than it had at first appeared. I found, indeed, to the westward and northward of the Sandstone Ranges, a well diversified country, with abundance of grass, some water, and finely shaped hills, in groups, and also detached cones. But the river, leaving that lower country, forced its way amongst rocky cliffs, where its course was traceable by the open ground along its banks—to be steadily south-west, and receiving of course the river "Amby," which had turned also in the same direction.

Mr. Kennedy with the main body of the party joined me on this river, on the 1st June, and the very sandy nature of the country before us, and the weakness of our draught oxen, determined me again to proceed in advance with a small party, relying chiefly on the horses; but this time I endeavoured to carry with me sufficient provisions to preclude the necessity for the party to be left at the depôt following me further; I determined to trace the river upwards, keeping the right bank, that I might fall in with and follow up any tributary from the north-west; from various elevations within thirty miles of the depôt camp, I had intersected many summits of lofty masses to the eastward, and also those of a line of cones, the general direction of which ran nearly westward, and from these I could extend my survey beyond.

I left the depôt camp on the 4th June, taking with me Mr. Stephenson, ten men, all the horses, three light carts, a dray, and the best team of bullocks, with four months' provisions, leaving with Mr. Kennedy sixteen men, all the bullocks, and the remainder of the drays and provisions. I found that two tributaries joined the Maranoa from the west, but they arose in subordinate sandstone ridges, and contained little water; then, in seeking again the main channel, I found it dry and full of sand; water being more readily found in the sandstone gullies, which then enclosed the river, than in the main channel. I then set out on an extensive reconnoissance to the northward, and ascending Mount Owen, (one of the cones in the range already mentioned,) I perceived that the main channel of the Maranoa came through this range from the mountains beyond it. The most lofty of these mountains was remarkable for its extreme flatness, and, having since intersected its salients from many points in my route, so as to determine its true place, I have named it Buckland's Table Land. Beyond Mount Owen, I fell in with another river falling north-west, in the midst of sandstone cliffs and gullies, but I found soon that it turned south-west, leading through fine open plains, into a lower interior country.

Continuing my ride north-west, while my party were still refreshing the horses in a grassy gully overlooking the Maranoa, I again found a chain of volcanic summits connected with a mass

of table-land, which I named (finding none of the aborigines there) Hope's Table Land. Between it and the still higher range towards the coast lay a very broken sandstone country, which was difficult to pass through with carts ; but when I had at length discovered, beyond Hope's Table Land, the head of another promising river falling to the north-west, we soon found a way through which my indefatigable party led the carts and bullock-team without the least damage. Mount P. P. King, a pointed volcanic cone, in long. 147°37'40 E., lat. 25°9'10, is near the head of that river, which we followed down until it turned, as all the others had done, to the south-west, and I was again obliged to halt, and take a long ride to the northward, where another chain of summits extended westward nearly under the 25th parallel of latitude. Beyond that range, whose summits are all of trap rock, I found deep sandstone gullies ; and, in following down one of these, I reached an extensive grassy valley, which terminated on a reedy lake in a more open country. The lake was supplied by springs arising in a swamp at the gorge of the valley which supported a flowing stream of the purest water. This stream spread into the extensive reedy lake, and, to my surprise, was absorbed by it, at least so as to escape through some subterraneous outlet, for the channel of the river in which the lake terminated was dry. The country is adorned by hills of the most romantic form, presenting outlines which surpass in picturesque beauty the fairest creations of the painter. Several pyramids mark the spot where the springs were first discovered, (and whence I now write). Lower down, appear over the woods isolated rocks resembling ruined castles, temples, and gothic cathedrals. Others have apertures through them, and the trees being also very varied and graceful in form, and rich in colour, contribute so much to the beauty of the scenery, that I have been induced to distinguish the river and lake by the name of a painter. Returning to the party, we soon brought the carts and dray down the sandstone cliffs to the banks of the Salvator, and pursued that river downwards until I discovered, which was soon obvious, that its course turned to the eastward of north, consequently that we were upon a river falling to the eastern coast. We lost two days in vainly endeavouring to pass westward, through dense brigalow scrub ; but on a ride which I next took north-westward, I was more successful, for after forcing my way through ten miles of scrub, I came upon what seemed to me the finest region on earth—plains and rich black mould, on which grew in profusion the *Panicum lœvinode* grass, and which were finely interspersed with lines of wood, which grew in the hollows and marked the courses of streams ; columns of smoke showed that the country was too good to be left uninhabited ; and, in fact, on approaching the nearest river channel, I found it full of water. This river I named the Claude, in honour of the painter of quiet pastoral scenery, and to the downs and plains, so favourable for flocks and

herds, I gave the name of the Mantuan Downs and Plains. I returned to the party on the Salvator, crossed that river with it in lat. 24°31'47" S., and conducted it, cutting our way through ten miles of scrub, to the banks of the Claude. These two rivers join at a considerable distance lower down, and form the Nogoia, a river which, according to the natives, pursues a north-east course to the sea, and therefore probably has its estuary on the shores of Broad Sound or its vicinity.

We were obliged to make a bridge for the passage of our carts across the Claude, and then we crossed a plain upon which grass grew almost as thickly as it grew in Australia Felix; then another stream, also full of water, was crossed, and we ascended undulating downs on which fragments of fossil-wood were abundant in a very rich soil. Beyond these (the Mantuan Downs) a range of broken summits appeared, and was certainly ornamental, but which we found to be only the upper part of a very intricate and difficult sandstone country, wherein the beds of the gullies were at a much lower level than the Downs and Plains. I endeavoured to penetrate to the westward of these, but found the country on that side quite impervious, and we next descended by an open gently declining valley to the head of a creek falling north-west: this creek soon took us into the heart of the sandstone gullies, so that we could only proceed by keeping its sandy bed. Unwilling to continue such distressing work (for the cattle especially), as it soon became evident that this, too, belonged to the basin of the Nogoia, I went up a valley coming from the west, and followed it until I could reach the crest of the range, which was possible only by climbing with hands and feet. From it, I saw to the westward rocky ravines as impassable as those on the river Grose in the mountains west of Sydney; I found it, therefore, most expedient to continue down Balmy Creek (so called from the very fragrant shrubs found there,) until it reached a more open country, through which we might pass to the north-west. Mr. Stephenson next day saw from a rocky height an open country to the north-west, and I lost no time in extricating the party from the bed of Balmy Creek. We found a very favourable outlet from that difficult country, by a pass in the gorge of which stood a rock so much resembling a tower that, at first sight, few would believe it the work of nature only. The glen we then entered (named, from the tower at its entrance, Glen Turret) was very extensive, contained abundance of good grass, and was bounded on the east and west by very broken-topped ranges; to the northward the view was over a most distant country.

Ascending the most northerly summit of the range on the west, (and which I named Mount Mudge), I perceived the rise of a river in some ravines falling north-west, and that the very lowest part of the whole country lay in prolongation of its course. I could also distinctly trace a connexion between the Mudge Range and other mountain masses to the eastward, which connecting

feature separated the basin of the Nogoa from that of the river which I hoped would lead north-west. My first camp on the Belyando was in long. 147°17' E., lat. 24° S. The course of the river continued north-west to so great a distance that when it at length turned to the north and north-east, we had traced it across two parallels of latitude, indeed to lat. 21°30' S., or two degrees within the Tropics. Your Excellency may imagine with what disappointment I then discovered that this river, which has brought us so far, instead of leading to the Gulf of Carpentaria, was no other than that which Mr. Leichhardt had called "the Cape, a river from the west."

I then ascertained that we were still on the seaward side of the division of the interior waters; or rather that the Eastern Coast Range, hitherto supposed to extend from Wilson's Promontory to Cape York is only imaginary; while the estuaries of two important rivers, affording easy access from the eastern coast to the rich plains of the interior, are realities which have remained undiscovered. That there was no feature deserving the name of a Coast Range to the westward of the Belyando was but too evident from the absence of any tributaries of importance; the sandy channels of water-courses from that quarter having had no effect in changing the course or character of the river, which last was very peculiar and remarkable, especially in its habit of spreading into several chains of ponds surrounded by brigalow scrub, apparently a provision of nature for the preservation of surface-water, resembling the net-work of rivers in the south. On the banks of one of these tributaries, we found some trees seen by us nowhere else. One was a true fig-tree, having small leaves, and with the fruit fully developed and ripening; the water abounded with the Harlequin fish, identical with those in the Maranoa.

I lost no time in retracing my steps back to this camp, with the intention of renewing my search for the river of Carpentaria from three remarkable points of the range just behind; in returning, I was able to perfect our track as a line of road, cutting off circuitous parts, and avoiding the difficult passage in the bed of Balmy Creek, and other obstacles, so that a tandem might now be driven to the furthest point marked by our wheels. I ought to mention here, that I have found the syphon barometer, by M. Buntén of Paris, and recommended to me by Colonel Mudge, of great utility in these researches, affording the only means of judging of the relative height of the various ranges. Thus I ascertained, when far up the Balonne, that we were but little higher than the bed of the Darling; that the Narran has scarcely any inclination at all; that the Belyando, at the lowest point attained by me, was not 600 feet above the sea; and in the present case, that the range under the parallel of 25° S. is the highest we have crossed, extending into the western interior; our route across it is in long. 147°23' E.; where the mean height above the sea exceeds 2000 feet; yet this we were only made aware of by

the extreme cold, or by the barometer, for there is nothing in the appearance of the country to lead to such a conclusion. On almost every clear night Fahrenheit's thermometer fell to 9°, and occasionally at four, A.M., the mercury was as low as 7°.

The height of this spinal range throwing off to the south-west all rivers south of it, and the course of the Belyando northward indicating an impulse so far in that direction, reduce the probability that the waters falling from that portion of it still further westward form a river running to the Gulf, almost to a certainty, while the field of exploration has been so much narrowed that I am resolved to make another attempt to solve the question; therefore, although my draught animals can be driven no further without having first some time to rest, and my stock of provisions is nearly exhausted, I intend to set out to-morrow morning on this interesting excursion, with two men and Yuranigh, an aboriginal native, who came with me from Buree. I leave no more horses fit for work, when I take two laden with provisions.

Our route has been measured by Mr. Kennedy with the chain from Cannonbà camp to his present position on the Maranoa, and I have extended a trigonometrical survey beyond Mount Mudge, to some hills within the tropic. I have numbered those camps where the country was really good, and marked them by Roman numerals, deeply cut in trees, commencing from the Culgoa northward; the lowest on the Belyando being LXIX; this, whence I write, XLIV. By this means I hope our survey will be found practically useful in the future occupation of the country.

Whatever may be the result of the further exploration contemplated, I have the satisfaction to be able to assure your Excellency, that this party has opened a good cart-road through well-watered pastoral regions, of greater extent than all those at present occupied by the Squatters; and, strange as it may seem to persons but little acquainted with the interior of this country, that since the exploring party crossed the Darling, it has never suffered any inconvenience from heat or want of water. I have found in Mr. Kennedy a zealous assistant—Mr. Stephenson has ably performed his duties, especially as surgeon, and the conduct of all the men deserves my approbation, but that especially of the party with me has been admirable.

We have had no collision with the Aborigines, although parties of them, who, on different occasions, visited my party at the camp during my absence, very significantly declared, brandishing their spears or clubs, that the country was their's, and making signs to my men to quit it and follow me. On such occasions the firmness and forbearance of my party have been such as to discourage any attempts of further annoyance.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

T. L. MITCHELL, *Surveyor-General.*

To His Excellency the Governor)
of New South Wales.)

No. 2.

Camp on the River Balonne, in long. 148°46'45 E.; lat. 28°2 S.

9th November 1846.

SIR,—The three remarkable summits of high land to which I alluded in my last despatch, are three volcanic cones, which I named Mounts Pluto, Hutton, and Playfair. These form an obtuse angled triangle, and the longest side being towards the west, I hoped to find in the neighbourhood a branch of high land extending north-west, forming a division of the waters, the discovery of which I found necessary before I could hope to discover rivers running in that direction. I take leave to add, that this was the chief object of the present journey, as it was of my journey in 1831. No person had seen that interior country, nor the waters properly belonging to the basin of Carpentaria; I have now the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that the result has exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

I crossed a range of clay ironstone, which extends northwards from Mount Playfair; it is covered with dense scrubs, and in it I found sources of the Warrego, a river flowing south-west. On the western side I followed down the head of a river falling north-west, which from its magnitude, and the fine forest-country along its banks promised well; but the bed was full of sand and quite dry, and after pursuing its course a whole day, I found it to turn towards the south, and at length even to the east. Passing the night by this river, (without water,) I left it, calling it the Nive, and hastened back next morning to where I had seen a gap in a westerly range connected with that to the northward, and arrived by sunset near the gap, in a valley, where I found lagoons of water and green flats in the midst of brigalow scrub. This was in longitude 146°42'25 East, latitude 24°50'35 South.

On ascending the range early next morning, I saw open downs, and plains with a line of river in the midst, the whole extending to the N.N.W. as far as the horizon. Following down the little stream from the valley in which I had passed the night, I soon reached the open country, and during ten successive days, I pursued the course of that river, through the same sort of country, each day as far as my horse could carry me, and in the same direction, again approaching the Tropic of Capricorn. In some parts the river formed splendid reaches, as broad and important as the River Murray; in others it spread into four or five channels, some of them several miles apart; but the whole country is better watered than any other portion of Australia I have seen, by numerous tributaries arising in the Downs. The soil consists of rich clay, and the hollows give birth to water-courses, in most of which water was abundant. I found, at length, that I might travel in any direction, and find water at hand, without having to seek the river, except when I wished to ascertain its general course and observe its character. The grass consists of panicum and several new sorts, one of which springs green from the old

stem. The plains were verdant ; indeed, the luxuriant pasturage surpassed in quality, as it did in extent, anything of the kind I had ever seen. The myall tree and salt bush (*acacia pendula*, and *salsola*, so essential to a good run,) are also there. New birds and new plants marked this out as an essentially different region from any I had previously explored : and although I could not follow the river throughout its long course at that advanced season, I was convinced that its estuary was in the Gulf of Carpentaria ; at all events, the country is open and well watered for a direct route thereto. That the river is the most important of Australia, increasing, as it does, by successive tributaries, and not a mere product of distant ranges, admits of no dispute ; and the Downs and plains of Central Australia, through which it flows, seem sufficient to supply the whole world with animal food. The natives are few and inoffensive : I happened to surprise one tribe at a lagoon, who did not seem to be aware that such strangers were in that country ; our number being so small, they seemed inclined to follow us. I crossed the river at the lowest point I reached, in a great southern bend, in longitude 144° 34' E., latitude 24° 14' S., and from rising ground beyond the left bank, I could trace its downward course far to the northward. I saw no callitris (*pine* of the colonists) in all that country, but a range showing sandstone cliffs appeared to the southward in longitude about 145° E., latitude 24° 30' S. The country to the northward of the river is, upon the whole, the best, yet in riding ninety miles due east from where I crossed the southern bend, I found plenty of water and excellent grass ; a red gravel there approaches the river, throwing it off to the northward. Ranges extending N.N.W., were occasionally visible from the country to the northward.

The discovery of the river, and this country through which it flows, was more gratifying to me after having been disappointed in the courses of so many others. The Cogoan, the Maranoa, the Warrego, the Salvator, the Claude, the Belyando, and the Nive, are nevertheless important rivers, and a thorough investigation of the mountain ranges in which they originate, will enable me, I trust, to lay before your Excellency such a map of those parts of Australia as may greatly facilitate the immediate and paramount occupation of the country, and the extension through it of a thoroughfare to the Gulf of Carpentaria, to which the direct way is thus laid open. With a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty, and loyalty to my gracious Sovereign, I named the river watering the best portion of the largest island in the world, the Victoria ; and hastened back to my party on the Salvator. I reached that camp on the 8th ultimo, having been absent about a month—found the cattle and horses refreshed, and in condition for pursuing our route homewards. In nine days we reached the dépôt camp, where I left Mr. Kennedy with the heavy drays and cattle, and received the agreeable intelligence,

that during the long period in which that party have been stationary, the natives had given no trouble ; that the men were all well, and the old cattle in good condition. I had straightened the route in returning, so that it is now a most convenient road, well-watered by permanent supplies.

Mr. Kennedy's inquiries amongst the natives led to a very important discovery, which we have since made, namely, that the Maranoa turns south about thirty miles below where he had his camp, and joins the Balonne only a day's-journey above this spot whence I write. We have explored and surveyed the Maranoa downwards, thus avoiding in travelling by it parts of the old route, where we feared that ponds, formerly small, would be now dried up. We have also discovered on the banks of this river much rich pastoral-land, and about lat. 26°30' S. open downs resembling, on a smaller scale, those on the Victoria, and whether the vast extent of intervening country may not admit of a direct passage across from there to the central Downs, without crossing the Plutonic ranges, remains to be ascertained during a season when the water-holes are better filled. Into that country the channels of the Warrego and Nive turned, when I had to leave them ; much native smoke arose there ; and I regret that I cannot now explore the course of these two rivers.

The survey of the Maranoa forms a line permanently supplied with water and grass, from this camp to the furthest limits I have reached—and directly in prolongation of my road across the Hawkesbury and Hunter, intended originally to have been made to Liverpool Plains. One link only is still wanting to complete the chain ; it is from this natural bridge on the Balonne, to the furthest point reached by me in my journey of 1831, a distance of about 70 miles ; and I hope to find the country in that direction passable for this party in its way homewards.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

T. L. MITCHELL, *Surveyor-General.*

To His Excellency the Governor }
of New South Wales. }

FINIS.